

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



VOL IX. No. 5

1920



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ANTIQUAE STATUAE URBIS ROMAE.

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

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THE history of the monuments and works of art of the classical period, which were in existence in Rome during the Renaissance, is of importance to us for many reasons. We may learn what were the materials which were at the disposal of the great masters in architecture, painting, and sculpture, and see in their drawings and sketches, as well as in the works which they actually executed, what use they made of the models which they had before their eyes, and what interested them in a greater or less degree. We may trace the growth of that antiquarianism out of which the science of archaeology was in process of time to develop. We may also obtain valuable information concerning much that has been destroyed or lost, or has, at least, come down to us in a very different state to that in which it was in their day.

If this is obvious in regard to architecture, it is no less true of the other arts : and although we must beware of supposing that the painter limited himself to the study of ancient painting, and the sculptor to the study of ancient sculpture,¹ instead of taking what suited or pleased them best wherever they might chance to find it among the remains of antique art, it will always be most instructive to know what models

¹ Amelung has shown (in Hoffmann, *Raphael als Architekt*, iv. *Vatikanischer Palast*, pp. 57 *sqq.*) in how wide a field Raphael's pupils sought their models for the decoration of the Loggie in the Vatican, making use of coins and gems, as well as of reliefs and statues.

they had before them, and how they adapted them to their own requirements.

From this point of view then, the study of the history of antique statuary during the Renaissance, which as we have seen, is only one branch of a far wider subject, is of undoubted utility to us in furthering our comprehension of Renaissance sculpture. For, while it is true that the sculptors of the fifteenth century had before them a far smaller number of ancient statues than we should at first be inclined to suppose, and made use to a much greater extent of reliefs or small objects, which were as a rule in a better state of preservation, the next century saw a great increase in the number of the former class of works of classical art: and these soon began to serve as appropriate decorations to palaces and gardens, and thus acquired a new importance. Collectors ceased to be content with heaping up statues or fragments of statues in picturesque confusion, as we still see them in the sketches of Marten van Heemskerck, in the small courtyards of the mediaeval and early Renaissance houses of Rome: and in the magnificent palaces of the sixteenth century statues, as well as bas-reliefs, began to take an important place in the architectural scheme—as, for example, in the Villa of Pope Julius III. (Villa di Papa Giulio) and the casino of Pius IV. in the Vatican garden, and in the group of buildings on the Capitol, where Michelangelo used statues on the skyline with considerable effect. In other cases they were systematically arranged to form the decoration of gardens.¹ The collocation of these statues was, indeed, fortunate, corresponding as it did with the way in which they had been employed by the Romans themselves (how far the coincidence is deliberate and in what measure fortuitous, we cannot attempt here to enquire): and there is no doubt that many a statue of secondary artistic value, which rouses little interest in a museum where works of first-rate excellence claim the major part of our attention, is thoroughly appropriate to such a decorative function.

¹ See Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1917), v. sqq.

Hülsen's work deals with the garden of the Cesi family, near S. Peter's just inside the Porta Cavalleggeri, and with the gardens of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi and Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, both on the Quirinal, the former entirely swept away, the latter surviving in part as the garden of the Royal Palace.

See also my article on 'The Villa d'Este at Tivoli and the collection of classical sculptures which it contained,' in *Archaeologia*, lxi (1908), 219 sqq.

Indeed, one of the main factors in the formation of the great collections of sculpture in the city of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the desire of the builders of the palaces in which the best works were housed to adorn the courtyards and exteriors of these buildings with sculptures of lesser merit, which were not considered worthy of protection from the weather.

The history of these collections of sculpture, is, thus, at once the history of the development of the sculptor's art in Europe, and the history of the growth of public and private collections outside Rome. The city had already begun to yield up some of her treasures in the sixteenth century, but, after a period of great wealth and prosperity in the seventeenth, during which many of the principal families formed their famous collections, was deprived of them during the eighteenth century to a far greater extent than before: for it was then that foreign, and especially British, competition became keen and was, further, able to take advantage of the pecuniary embarrassments of the Roman nobles.

The present paper can only claim to be a contribution to a branch of this subject.¹ It is, in the main, a study, from a bibliographical point of view, of the most extensive collection of engravings of sculpture which was published in the sixteenth century—that of Joannes Baptista de Cavalleriis (Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri),² a native of the Val Lagherina—the valley of the Adige to the south of Trento—(1525 (?)–1601), consisting, in its ultimate form, of 200 plates. The engravings of sculpture which occur in the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* of Antoine Lafrère (some of which are earlier in date, and, as we shall see, served as models for Cavalieri's plates) as well as the iconographic publications of Achilles Statius and Fulvius Ursinus, deserve treatment by themselves³: while the collection of engravings of sculpture published by Laurentius Vaccarius

¹ An attempt was made to deal with it by Hübner, *Le Statue di Roma (Grundlagen für eine Geschichte der antiken Monumente in der Renaissance)* vol. i. Leipzig, 1912: but Hülsen's review, severe, though I cannot say unjust, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1914, 257 sqq. points how far this work is from being as fundamental as the subtitle would claim. I am much indebted to Prof. Hülsen for help and advice in regard to the first draft of the present paper.

² A list of his works is given by Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii. 243. Ozzola (in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. 217) unwisely omits the first edition (our I. 1) which Nagler had cited, and treats I. 2 as the first: and he follows Nagler in entirely omitting II.

³ See Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafrère*, 15 sqq.: Hülsen in *Röm. Mitt.* xvi. (1901), 123 sqq.

(Lorenzo della Vaccaria)¹ in 1584, has no independent value except for the comparatively small number of plates which are not taken from earlier publications: and the small woodcuts which Girolamo Franzini used in various guidebooks from 1588 onwards, and also published separately, are also in large measure copies, though a good many of them are independent.²

A considerable number of the plates of Cavalieri have survived, after many vicissitudes, until the present day, and the investigation of their history may not be without interest for the light which it throws on the trade in engravings and books and the method of their production in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in Rome. We shall see with what kind of illustrations of the most famous works of classical art antiquarians had to content themselves, and what were the books which travellers took home with them. We see the Venetians publishing pirated editions, the engravings as in many other cases³ being copied with absolute fidelity, as soon as the privilege of ten years had expired.

The comparative rarity of copies of the various editions of Cavalieri's work and of those of his successors (the 1585 edition of Books i. ii. is the commonest) is somewhat surprising, if we consider the greater diffusion of other books dealing with Rome. On the other hand, the number of copies printed may, as in the case of Labacco's work, have been extremely small: and the demand for these collections of statues was not perhaps very great. Ecclesiastics may have found among them too many nude statues for their taste—it is worth noting that the copy in the Vittorio Emanuele library bears the legend on the title-page "Bibl. (iotheca) secr. (eta) Soc. (ietatis) Iesu": while artists who bought the book may have torn out the individual prints. And in any case, the plans of the city of Rome provide far more striking examples of the disappearance of almost every copy of engraved works which, one would have thought, would have had a not inconsiderable vogue among visitors to the city.

¹ Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 10, n. 9, makes him out to be a Frenchman; but cf. *ibid.* 59.

² The same remark applies to Filippo Tomassini's *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber Primus* (circa 1608). I intend to deal with both these works on another occasion.

³ See my article, 'Il libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente all' Architettura,' in *Bibliofilia*, xvi. (1914), 302 sqq.

The various editions may be classified as follows :—

I. *Cavalieri*.

1. Liber Primus.

- (a) Before dedication (undated). Title and 58 plates.
- (b) Truchsess (1561-2). Title and 52 plates. (Table *a* (1), Col. I. *a*).
- (c) Truchsess (1562-70). „ „ „
- (d) Porro (1570). „ „ „
- (e) „ (1576). „ „ „

2. Liber Primus et Secundus. Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. I. *b*).

- (a) Madrucci (before 1584).
- (b) „ (1585).

3. Liber Tertius et Quartus (1594). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (2), Col. I. *b*).

II. *Vaccaria and Van Schaych*.

- 1. Lorenzo della Vaccaria (1584), 73 plates including title.
- 2. „ „ (as *parte terza, circa* 1608), 80 plates including title.
- 3. Gottifredo de Schaichis (Goert van Schaych) as *Pars Secunda*, 1621, 80 plates including title (Table *β*, Col. I.).

III. *Publications based mainly on Cavalieri*.

- A. 1. Marcucci (1623), 140 plates including 3 titles (Table *a*, Col. V.).
- 2. „ (1623), 100 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. V.).
- 3. Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1640-68). Title and (?) plates (Table *a*, Col. VI.).
- 4. Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1668). Title and 70(?) plates (Table *a*, Col. VI.).
- B. 1. Nicolaus van Aelst (1608-13). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. VII. ; Table *γ*, Col. I.).
- 2. Giuseppe De Rossi of Milan (1619). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. VII. ; Table *γ*, Col. I.).
- 3. Giovanni Domenico De Rossi (1645), 140 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. VIII.).

4. Giangiacomo De Rossi (1649-94), 140 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. IX. ; Table *γ*, Col. II.).
5. Calcografia Camerale (Reale), 133 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. X. ; Table *γ*, Col. III.).

The Tables, with a list of the contents of Cavalieri (Table *a*), Vaccaria (Table *β*) and the present Calcografia collection (Table *δ*) together with a list of the plates added by Van Aelst (Table *γ*), will be found at the end of this paper. We shall now proceed to a detailed consideration of the different editions, following the classification given above.

I. 1 (*a*). The first edition of Cavalieri's collection consisted, it would seem, of title-page and fifty-eight plates. The copy in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, which previously belonged to the library of Cardinal Passionei (d. 1761) bears the pressmark LL. 21. 14. It contains only fifty plates besides the title ; but it is clear that eight plates have been cut out. These plates all recur in later editions, so that it is easy to reconstruct the contents of the original one.¹ It is not so easy to be quite sure of the exact order of the plates, none of which are numbered, though it is in the main identical with that of the next edition, which consisted of only fifty-two plates : in this a numbering was introduced, which is given in Table *a*, Col. I. *a*. The title-page of the first edition has the following legend in the upper cartouche :—

¹ Plates 1-37 are in the same order as in the next edition, except that 25 and 26 have been wrongly inverted, and that No. 8 represents the so-called Antinous in the Vatican, which is omitted in the next edition, and does not recur until the first enlarged edition (I. 2 (*a*)) appeared. Two leaves have been cut out between 24 and 25, and two more between 28 and 29 ; but only two statues from the collection of the Cardinal of Ferrara (Nos. 38, 39 of the next edition) have been left out, so that it looks as if the original order had not been preserved when the book was rebound in the eighteenth century. No. 38 is I. 2 (*a*) No. 91, and No. 41 is *ib.* No. 50 (neither of them occurs in the next edition), while Nos. 39, 40, 42 are respectively Table *γ*, Nos. 16, 30, 29. If this order is correct, we should have to suppose that Nos. 39-42 referred to the Carpi collection ; but in any case No. 42 (*statua incognita ibidem*) should obviously precede No. 40 (*statua alia incognita e marmore ibidem*) and 41 (*statua item incognita pulcherrima ibidem*). Nos. 43-50 correspond in order with the plates of the next edition, but four leaves have been cut out between Nos. 46 and 47. These, together with the two remaining to be accounted for above, will just leave room for Nos. 8, 40, 41, 42, 51, 52 of the next edition, which are not present in this copy. Whether III. IV. No. 37 (which is in the style of the first edition) actually belonged to it, is doubtful. All these plates of Cavalieri are after original drawings, except Nos. 51, 52 (Marforio and Pasquino) which are copied from the *Speculum* of Lafrèry.

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM VRBIS
ROMAE LIBER PRIMVS

The lower cartouche is blank.

The almost entire omission of the Vatican collection (the so-called Antinous is the only exception) can no longer be explained, as it was by Michaelis,¹ by the fact that Pius V. caused the statues to be as far as possible concealed from the public ; but it may well be that the drawings were prepared during the pontificate of Paul IV. (1555-9) who would, no doubt, have been as much opposed to the enterprise as Pius V. himself.

The question whether Cavalieri executed these drawings himself, or relied on the help of other artists, cannot, as Hülsen points out, be answered ; though it would be a natural thing that he should have had the assistance of Giannantonio Dosio, who was responsible for the views of Rome which Cavalieri engraved in 1569, and which are sometimes found bound up with copies of the enlarged collection (in four books) of engravings of statues by Cavalieri (I. 2, 3). The drawings of Dosio do not, however, provide us with any evidence on this point : and the question is rendered more difficult by the fact that, as Hülsen has made out, the drawings of the views of Rome which were prepared for the engraver's use are probably not by Dosio, but by another hand, perhaps by Cavalieri himself.²

(b) The second edition, too, has hitherto been unknown to bibliographers.³ The copy in the library of the British School at Rome was acquired in Germany some years ago, and had formerly belonged to Kieseritzky : it was previously the property of one Napoleone de Luna (probably a Spaniard, a member of the family to which Pope Benedict XIII. also belonged) who was living in Paris at the time he wrote his name on the title-page (" Ex libris Neapolensis à Luna : Luteti(a)e

¹ *Jahrb. d. Inst.* v. (1890), p. 41.

² *Op. cit.* 272, cf. *Ausonia* vii (1912), 10. In no case in which Dosio has drawn a statue which occurs in the collection formed by Cavalieri, is there any ground for supposing that the drawing served as the original of the engraving. As Hülsen says, if the investigation were worth making, it should begin from the engravings of two statues which were in Dosio's possession (iii. iv. 70, 83).

³ It is mentioned in *Cap. Cat.* p. 11, and by Hülsen, *op. cit.* 271, n. 3, to whom I gave the information regarding it. At that time I believed it to be the first edition.

Parisior(um) "). The title-page (Fig. 1) is from the same plate, and has the same legend in the upper cartouche, as in the first edition :—

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM VRBIS
ROMÆ LIBER PRIMVS.



FIG. 1.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, SECOND EDITION (I. I (b)).
(Size of original 196×144 mm.)

In the cartouche below the following dedication has been added :—

*Illustrissimo, et Reuerendissimo
D. Othoni Trusches de Vualdburg.
August. S.R.E. titule Sanctæ
Mariæ trans Tyberim Presbytero
Cardinali Dicatus.
Cum privilegio.
Ioanne Baptista de Cauallerijs lagherino incisore.*

Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg,¹ here appears as cardinal presbyter and titular of S. Maria in Trastevere, a dignity which he obtained on April 14th, 1561, and vacated on his elevation to the see of Albano, on May 18th, 1562 (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, iii. p. 32). The appearance of the second edition of Cavalieri's work is thus fixed with precision between these two dates.

A specimen plate (the Hercules of Glycon) is given in our Fig. 2.

(c) After Truchsess's elevation Cavalieri altered lines 6–8 of the dedication as follows: *August. S.R.E. Cardinali Episcopo Albanensi Dicatus*²: while below line 9 he added *Apud Franciscum Palumbum Novariensem*.³ There is a copy of this edition in Berlin (Hübner, p. 38), which may be the one in

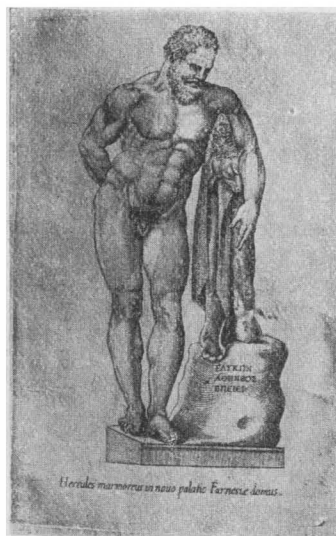


FIG. 2.—SPECIMEN PLATE FROM CAVALIERI, SECOND EDITION (Table α (1), Col. 1a, No. 9). (Size of original 201 × 128 mm.)

¹ Cf. Ciacconius, *Historiae Pontificum et Cardinalium*, iii. 692 sqq., Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, v. vi. *passim*. He was protector of the Holy Roman Empire, and a man of great importance and learning. Michaelis (*Jahrbuch d. Inst.* v. (1890) 43) notes that Pius V. did not refuse to him, as he did to other prelates of the Church, a gift of some of the statues which he was so anxious to expel from the Vatican: cf. Pelli, *Saggio istorico della R. Galleria di Firenze*, i. 132.

² He vacated the see on April 12th, 1570, on being translated to that of Sabina: he was once more translated to Palestrina on July 3rd of the same year. He died on 2nd April, 1573.

³ I have not been able to obtain further information in regard to Francesco Palumbo of Novara, who was obviously a publisher or bookseller; but the name of Petrus Paulus

the Destailleur sale of 1895 (No. 691). The title-page was not used by Cavalieri in the later and enlarged editions of his work : but he adapted it to another work of an entirely different nature—a collection of engravings of strange beasts from all parts of the world. I have never seen the collection itself : but a copy of the title-page is preserved in the Lallemant de Betz collection at the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris (Inv. 6573). The first lines read as follows :—

Opera ne la quale ui e molti Mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni con le dechiarationi a ciascheduno fina al presẽte anno 1585 stãpati in Roma : and the only part of the old legend left is *Cum privilegio Ioanne Baptista de Cauallerijs lagherino incisore*. Palumbo's imprint has been left out.

(d) In 1570 Girolamo Porro of Venice published a reproduction of Cavalieri's work, which he re-engraved.¹ We do not know whether Cavalieri had obtained the usual privilege for ten years from the Venetian Senate, but it would seem improbable : for otherwise Porro would not have dared to infringe the copyright.

The title runs :—

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM VRBIS ROMAE
VENETIIS
NOVITER IMPRESS.
M.D.LXX

This betrays thoroughly unintelligent copying : and there are a few similar errors in the legends—e.g. *Poyhymnia* on Pl. 29, and *marmare* on

Palumbus, also of Novara, who was, no doubt, a relation, is given by Zani (*Enciclopedia*, xiv. 242) and Nagler (*Monogrammisten*, iv. 3221) as a publisher of engravings in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Zani gives the date of his activity as *circa* 1578, while Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898), p. 264, n. 78, gives the period as 1560–1578). Nagler notes that his monogram occurs on several anonymous prints—a Holy Family after Raphael, a Birth of Christ, and a Crucifixion after Michaelangelo : and Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V.* ; *La pianta Du Pérac-Lafréry*, 59, notes an engraving bearing the imprint *Petrus Paulus Palumbus Novariensis curabat, Romae* 1571. Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xv. 305, notes that later impressions of Enea Vico's engraving of the 'Accademia di Baccio Bandinelli' bear the legend *Romae Petrus Paulus Palumbus formis* ; and still later copies are found with the imprint *Gaspar Albertus successor Palumbi*. Nagler is therefore wrong in speaking of his successor as C. Alberti : cf. Meyer, *Kunstlerlexikon*, i. 217. Ascanio Palombo (Nagler, i. 1102) was perhaps his brother.

¹ Cicognara (*Catalogo*, ii. No. 3543) is wrong in supposing that Porro had the use of the plates.

Pl. 33. The size of the original plate is very slightly reduced—from 203 by 130 mm. to 195 by 127 mm.

There is only one copy of this edition known, in Munich : and the following has been added in MS. on the title-page :—

Lib. 1 3 t. 2 Jo. Bapt. de Cavalleriis Authore.

Hübner has copied Michaelis' statement wrongly, and therefore states that it is in Göttingen.

(e) In 1576 Porro issued a reprint under the following corrected title :—

STATVE ANTICHE
CHE SONO
POSTE IN DIVERSI LVOGHI
NELLA CITTÀ
DI
ROMA
Nouamente stampate
IN VENETIA
MDLXXVI.

Apresso Girolamo Porro

The dedication, to the senator Giovanni Donato, is dated Jan. 1, 1576, and runs thus : “ *fu sempre mio pensiero di giovare à ognuno non solo con la publicatione delle cose mie, ma etiandio con quelle de gli altri, che havessero alquanto del vago, onde essendomi capitato nelle mani le stampe di alcune statue antiche, che si trovano in Roma in diversi luoghi, uolendo rimandandole in luce, dedicarle a qualche gran personaggio . . . ho giudicato, & eletto V. Clariss(ima) Sig(noria) per la più degna.* ” We have seen that Porro never acquired possession of the copper-plates, but re-engraved from the copies. He received on Feb. 25, 1575–6 a general privilege “ *per anni 15 per li disegni che di tempo in tempo anderà facendo in stampa di rame così di figure et ritratti come d'altri disegni di cosmografia in libri ridotti et etiam separati ne in maggior ne in minor forma* ” (*Arch. Stato Frari, Venezia, Senato, Terra, Filza 68*. I owe this information to Mr. Horatio Brown). There are two copies in the British Museum (786 K. 47, and 786 K. 5 (1)) ; another in the Vatican (Cicognara 3543¹;

¹ The printed catalogue wrongly gives the date as 1676.

another was in Baer's catalogue No. 511 (1905), No. 1582 ; and a fifth is in Göttingen, according to Michaelis (*loc. cit.*). Besides the Arabic numbers, there are always Roman numbers at the top, reversed.

2 (a).

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMÆ
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
LVDOVICO MADRVICIO
S.R.E. CARD. AMPLISSIMO
DIC.
IO. BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AUTHORE

The title-page is an entirely new one, and a far less successful production than the old. The first edition of this enlarged collection was undated¹: see Michaelis (*loc. cit.*), who puts the residence of Lodovico Madrucci in Rome from 1567 to about 1578, while Hübner, through a misunderstanding (Ciacconius, iii. 932), extends it to 1581. Madrucci was made cardinal in 1561 and was bishop of Trento from 1563 to his death in 1600 : and De Cavalleriis, who was a native of the Adige Valley below Trento, might very well have dedicated his work to him whether he was permanently resident in Rome or not. He was created bishop of the see of Sabina in 1597, translated to Frascati on Feb. 21, 1600, and died in Rome in April of the same year. There is no certain ground for fixing the transference of the "Pudicitia" (No. 15) from the Vatican to the Capitol in the year 1566 : all we can be certain of is, that it did *not* come with the first thirty statues on Feb. 28 of that year (*Cap. Cat.* i.

¹ There is a copy in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (vol. 51, H. 17, Inv. 94430-94528) with additions at the end, and there is another in my own collection, bound with Dosio's *Urbis Romae Aedificiorum Reliquiae* (1569), and Porcacchi's *Funerali Antichi* (1574). On the back of the title page of the first copy are the arms of Cavalieri—a shield with an eagle in the upper part of it, and two clubs crossed in the lower : above the shield is a helmet. Below the shield is the legend IOANNES BAPTISTAE DE CAVALLERIIS. This enlarged edition must have appeared before 1584, when the collection of Vaccaria was published (*infra*, 123) : we may also note that the statues in the Valle collection, almost all of which passed to the Villa Medici in 1584 (Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Inst.* vi. (1891), 224), are still in their old place. Hülsen assigns it to about 1580. It can hardly be previous to the death of Pius V. in 1572 (*Cap. Cat.* p. 12).

p. 364). The account of the relation of this enlarged collection of 100 plates to the original work is well given by Hübner (p. 39 *sq.*). For some reason the preparation of new plates was begun, but was only carried through as regards the first twenty-five¹; the new plates are much worse than the old (compare Figs. 3, 4), and it may be as well that the remaining twenty-seven were retained and re-numbered.² Forty-eight



FIG. 3.—SPECIMEN OF THE ORIGINAL PLATES OF CAVALIERI (Table *a* (1), Col. 1*a*, No. 20).

(Size of original 206 × 129 mm.)



FIG. 4.—SPECIMEN OF THE RE-ENGRAVED PLATES OF CAVALIERI (Table *a* (1), Col. 1*b*, No. 39).

(Size of original 227 × 132 mm.)

other plates were added, and the whole collection thus brought up to 100.

(*b*) In the later edition the title-page bears at the bottom the additional line :—

ANNO DOMINI M.D.LXXXV.

the last four letters being very much crowded. No other change has been made (Fig. 5).

¹ Nineteen of them were copies of the older plates, slightly enlarged ; while six others were from new drawings. The old plates, however, were not destroyed, but continued to exist (Hülse, p. 272, cf. *infra.*, 129).

² They were slightly worked over (note the addition of the bowstring in No. 46).

3.

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE
TERTIVS ET QUARTVS
LIBER
PERILL. D. IACOBO PALVTIO
ALBERTONIO
VERE NOBILI ROMANO
DIC.
IO. BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AUTHORE
ROMAE CI^o I^o XCIII.
Cum privilegio S. Pont. (Fig. 6)

This second collection of 100 entirely new plates¹ has a dedication, dated June 1st, 1593, to Giacomo Paluzzi Albertoni, who is referred to as the possessor of *museum pulcherrimis statuis, nummis, libris refertum*, and who was the owner of four pieces (Nos. 38, 43, 57, 95) which are figured in the collection. At the end of the seventeenth century a Paluzzo Albertoni married the Altieri heiress, the niece of Clement X., and took his wife's name (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 101); and No. 57 is still in the Palazzo Altieri.

The engravings are extremely bad, and fully deserve all Hübner's censures from the purely artistic point of view: but they have the merit

¹ The second collection is a good deal rarer than the first. Complete copies of both are to be found in the Vatican (Cicognara, v. 3492) at the Vittorio Emanuele library in Rome (*Coll. Rom.* 4, E. 35), in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (203, A 6)—both the last two copies have Dosio's views of Rome bound up with them—in the Topham Library at Eton College (B. i. 5, 36), and in my own collection.

On the back of Pl. 100 of Books iii. iv. of the Topham copy are printed the arms of Cavalieri (*supra*, 118, n. 1).

It is certain that the drawings for Books iii. iv. were, in part at least, made many years before they were published. Apart from Pl. 37, which is in the style of the first edition, we find that the Venus which was in the possession of Giovanni Antonio Dosio before his return to Florence about 1576 (see Hülsen in *Ausonia*, vii. (1912), 4) and which Vaccaria (Pl. 65) saw *apud quemdam mercatorem Florentinum* (cf. Table 7, 34) was drawn by or for Cavalieri (Pl. 70) before it had passed out of Dosio's hands, and indeed Hülsen (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, 272) notes that this plate appears (as it does in a copy in the Biblioteca Angelica—L.L. 21, 15—together with Pls. 3, 81) without a number, in several copies of the first two books. The statue is lost—nor do we know what happened to the Bacchus (Cav. iii. iv. 83) which was also in his possession. Further, two of the statues which passed, with the bulk of the Della Valle collection, to Villa Medici in 1584 were drawn for Books iii. iv., while they were still in Palazzo Valle (Pl. 27, 41: Michaelis

of accuracy—we may note the remarks of Sieveking and Buschor¹ on



FIG. 5.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, EDITION I. 2 (b).
(Size of original 237×173 mm.)

Jahrbuch d. Inst. vi. 1891, 229, Nos. 22, 31). We may also note that Girolamo Garimberti, Bishop of Gallese, from whose collection Cavalieri drew a number of objects, died in 1573 (Eubel, *op. cit.* iii. 217, wrongly gives the date as 1565); though we do not know when his collection began to be dispersed. For the collection cf. Hülsen, *cit.* p. 298: also *Cose Meravigliose di Roma*, 1566, 45 (from which we learn that his house was at Monte Citorio).

¹ *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1912, ii. 113.

the representations of the statues of Niobe and her children—and a good many statues are shown before the restorations, which are often erroneous, had been made. The majority of them are reversed (p. 150, n. 2).

It is worth noting that, while the statues in the first two books are



FIG. 6.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, EDITION I. 3.
(Size of original 227×153 mm.)

arranged in groups corresponding to the collections in which they were preserved, those in the third and fourth books are arranged according

to their subject : and here the name of the collection in which they were seems in many cases to have been added a little later (though probably by the same engraver) and begins with a capital letter—a good example is No. 71.

There are perhaps some forgeries among them, *e.g.*, Nos. 1, 4, etc., but Hübner (cf. Hülsen, *cit.* p. 298) is unduly suspicious of their genuineness as a whole, and has thus failed to make some identifications with actually existing statues (cf. Nos. 7, 72, 84).

II. *Vaccaria and Van Schaych.*

1. In 1584 Lorenzo della Vaccaria issued, probably for the first time, a collection with the following title :—

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM
VRBIS ROMAE
quae in publicis priuatisque locis
visuntur
ICONES

Below is the following :—

ROMAE
Ex typis Laurentij
Vaccarij ad Signū
Palmae victricis
M.D.LXXXIIII

Lorenzo della Vaccaria (or Vaccheria) or Vaccari first appears as a publisher and printer of engravings in 1574, when he printed the first edition of the large plan of Rome as restored by Etienne Du Pérac.¹

¹ See my *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581* (Roxburghe Club, 1916), 19 *sqq.* The original edition is mentioned by De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 65, n. 3. According to him, it has, at the end of the dedication, the words *Excudebat Romae Laurentius della Vacherie*. The form of the name Vaccaria or Vaccari adopted in this dedication has led Ehrle, as it led me, to suppose him a Frenchman, but incorrectly.

Villamena, though his name remained on the plate in the edition of Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, died in 1626 ; and the date 1674, given to this edition by De Nolhac, is probably mistaken ; for the two copies cited by Hülsen in his *Bibliografia delle Pianta di Roma*, No. 58 (*Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxxviii. (1915), 1 *sqq.*, and separately) are not dated. De Nolhac, however, must have seen another copy of the six strips with the index, which Hülsen had only seen in my collection : for it is from them that the fact of the collaboration of Orsini in the preparation of the plan is to be learnt. There was a copy with five of these strips in the Destailleur sale of 1885 (No. 610).

Hülsen, on the other hand, is in error in not recognising that the original edition of the plan (*ibid.* No. 56) must have borne the name of Vaccaria, and not that of Francesco Villamena, who, according to the general account, was born at Assisi in or about 1566, though Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, i. No. 1390, gives the date of his birth as about 1556.

The latest limit of his activity of which I have any knowledge is not the work before us, as I had hitherto believed, but 1600.¹

Whether this edition is really the first may be considered uncertain. As Hübner points out (p. 43) earlier dates appear on some of the plates (1577 on Nos. 41, 49: 1578 on No. 69: 1579 on No. 68—if, indeed, this plate should not rather be excluded from the original edition²): while those plates which represent statues which were formerly in the Della Valle collection as in the Villa Medici (Nos. 42, 45) must date actually from 1584, the year of their transference, although the drawings may have been made earlier.³

As will be seen from Column IV. of Table *β*, a considerable number of Vaccaria's plates were copied from the *Speculum* of Lafréry (or, where

Even if Nagler is right, he was only eighteen years old in 1574, and would hardly have been in the position to write under the dedication *Excudebat Romae Franciscus Villamoena*, which would make him out to be the printer or publisher. An examination made by Mr. Forsdyke of the only copy recorded of Villamena's edition (British Museum, 155, No. 7) shows this legend to be a later addition. It must be identical with that which figures in Vaccaria's catalogue (Hülsen, No. 57).

¹ In this year he published the plan of Rome by Maggi, with the little views of the Seven Churches round it (Hülsen, *op. cit.* No. 91): but he must have already admitted his son, Andrea, to partnership and have very soon died or given up business: for we find Andrea's name as early as 1599 (Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xvii. 169, 1158) and again in 1600 (Ozzola in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxiii. (1910), 405), 1603 (Hülsen, No. 98), and 1605 (on the title-page of a reprint of Part 2 of the *Venationes* of Antonio Tempesta, dedicated by him to Giovanni Antonio Orsini, Duke of Sangemini in 1598: the name of the original publisher is erased: the set of engravings is not recorded by Bartsch), besides the later dates given by Ehrle, *cit.* 59, who also gives a reprint of the catalogue of engravings published by Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccari in 1614, from the only known copy at Mantua.

² This is a plate representing an archer shooting downwards with a crossbow, and standing with his right foot in the space between the springing of two archivolt, one of which is represented as broken off at the extremity. Below is the inscription *Regij. 1579*. I have a copy of it without the lined background which was added to it when it took its place in the collection.

³ The purchase of the Della Valle collection by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici took place on July 15th, 1584, and only a few pieces of sculpture remained in the possession of the Capranica family (Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Inst.* vi. (1891), 224). Vaccaria has not indicated in all cases those that were transferred (Nos. 67, 71), which he still mentions as "in aedibus Vallensibus") and, apart from one which actually bears a date anterior to 1584 (No. 69) which was in this collection, we may thus infer that the bulk of the drawings were made some years before the publication of this edition. This is further clear from the fact that No. 41, which bears the signature of Cherubino Alberti and the date 1577, also bears the legend *In Viridario Cardinalis de Medicis*, which must have been added later. There are indeed some extra proofs before letters of a few of the engravings in vol. 51-H-23 in the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome (Inv. 94888 *sqq.*) which also contains a copy of the 1621 edition, broken up and mounted: but I know of no title-page before that of 1584 which I have described in the text.

that was not available as a model, from the enlarged edition of the first part of Cavalieri's work),¹ and thus only thirty-three of them can be said to have independent value. The engravers (who were also probably the draughtsmen) of some of these plates are known to us by their signatures, Nos. 41, 49, 69, being the work of Cherubino Alberti,² and Nos. 12, 20, 29, of Orazio de Santis.³ No. 65 bears on the handle of the vase the signature *Vit. f.*, which is probably that of Domenico Viti, a monk of Vallombrosa the period of whose activity runs from 1576 to 1586.⁴

Others were Francesco Villamena and Filippo Tommasini (p. 110, n. 2).

¹ Hübner, who gives a table to indicate this, has failed to notice that none of Vaccaria's plates are copied from the first edition, but all (except No. 27, which is duplicated by No. 33, *infra*, p. 154, n. 7) from the enlarged edition (2 (a)), of Cavalieri, which, as Hülsen points out, is not without importance, as it affects the question of the dating of both collections. Though we cannot fix the date of the first appearance of the enlarged edition of Cavalieri, we might say that Vaccaria's work would hardly have been likely to have appeared immediately after it, unless the fact that a lined background has been introduced is sufficient to protect Vaccaria from a charge of infringing the copyright: for as Hülsen points out, Hübner, in trying to maintain that Vaccaria's engravings are superior in quality, has entirely failed to see that they are exact copies, agreeing in dimensions and outline, of Cavalieri's plates. The legends, which were added later, and not by the engravers themselves (I have been able to distinguish three or four different styles of calligraphy in them, and one of them is common to all the signed plates cited above, except 69) are also unintelligently copied, as mistakes in the Latin show (*e.g.* Plates 36, 80).

Hübner notes, rightly, that in five cases the names of the owners of the statues have been left out in the earlier editions, and only inserted later (Nos. 27, 28, 35, 46, 75): and I may add that in No. 31 the locality looks as if it had been inserted later, and possibly in a few other cases as well. No. 75 indeed did not pass into the Borghese collection until after 1605.

² They are noted by Meyer, *Künstlerlexikon*, i. p. 213, No. 188. Among a large quantity of drawings by Alberti, recently acquired by the Galleria Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome, are two drawings (Nos. 2, 96) which correspond in subject with Nos. 25, 2 of Vaccaria's collection: but the size differs, both the drawings being larger, while in the first the arms are unrestored, and the pose is not identically represented.

³ For Orazio de Santis of Aquila see Bartsch, *op. cit.* xvii, 5, *sqq.* (who does not mention these engravings).

⁴ Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii. 1292: *Künstlerlexikon*. xx. 438. Another of his works (Brulliot, ii. 2630) bears this signature at the bottom on the seat. He engraved several of the plates in the *Speculum*—the Arch of Constantine (Q. 80)—the reference is to the copy once in the possession of Mr. Quaritch (Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135 p. 119 *sqq.* No. 1530), and now in America—the Satyr and Dionysus at Naples (Q. 176) the Hercules and Telephus in the Museo Chiaramonti (Q. 225), the Diomedes at Munich (Q. 227), and the Athamas and Lichas at Naples (Q. 229). The first impression of the Diomedes (not mentioned by Quaritch, but in my collection, in a volume which came from the Seguier and Destailleurs collections, and contains a fairly early series of plates with nothing after 1581 in it, except at the very end) bears the signature *Do. Vitus fe.* (No. 76). The impression of the plate with the signature of Perret, cited by Hübner, p. 43 (Q. 227) is therefore the second, not the first, and cannot be used as evidence for dating Vaccaria's plates.

The number of plates in the original edition was in all probability seventy-three, including the title-page. We have seen that No. 68, though it has nothing to do with the subject of the collection, was provided with a lined background like the rest : and it may have been added to



FIG. 7.—TITLE-PAGE OF VACCARIA, EDITION II. 2.
(Size of original 211×155 mm.)

them in order to make up an even number, so that the prints could be placed in pairs on an oblong page, and sold with Du Pérac's album.

The original arrangement of the plates cannot be recovered, as they were not numbered until 1621.¹

2. The second edition formed the *parte terza* (these words having been added on the title-page above the date, which remained unchanged) of a collection in which the third edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma* formed the *parte prima*, and the *Ornamenti di fabbriche*

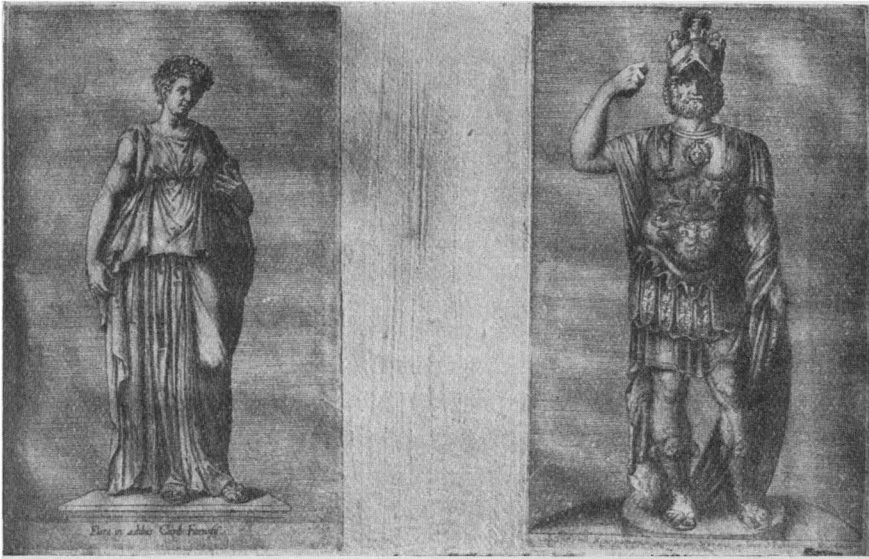


FIG. 8.—A SPECIMEN PAIR OF PLATES FROM VACCARIA, EDITION II. 2 (Table B, Nos. 27, 76).
(Size of originals 222 × 132 mm.)

antiche et moderni the *parte seconda*² (Fig. 7). Here the plates are printed two on a page (Fig. 8), but, except for the fact that obvious pairs of

¹ In the copies of which I have knowledge, the order seems to vary greatly, and there is no attempt at any system. For convenience I have therefore used the numbering of the 1621 edition even in speaking of those which preceded it.

I have examined a copy belonging to the bookseller Sig. Castagnari of Rome, containing sixty-two plates besides the title-page: none of the later plates were present, and Plates 27, 28, 46 were without the later indications of locality (Nos. 35, 75 were missing).

² See my article 'Le diverse edizioni dei *Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma* di Stefano Du Pérac' in *Bibliofilia* xvi. (1915), 416. The hypothesis that this edition was published for the jubilee of 1600 is due to Michaelis (*Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898), 265, n. 83) and has been followed by others, including Hübner and Hülsen. I have a copy of the three parts in my own collection, and Hülsen (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, cit. p. 275) mentions another, which like my own, is in an old binding, in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden (B, 819, 2), and there

plates (*e.g.*, the so-called Horsetamers and the "Trophies of Marius") are kept together, no particular order is observed. The number was made up to eighty, including the title-page, by the addition of No. 68 and of six plates from I. 3 (Books iii. iv. of Cavalieri, of which only one edition can be traced)—Nos. 5, 9, 14, 21, 34, 61.¹ The date of this issue cannot be earlier than the formation of the Borghese collection, as the Borghese faun (No. 75) which was previously in the Ceuli collection, had been already transferred: and the hypothesis that the volume was issued for the jubilee of 1600 must therefore be abandoned.

This is probably the edition issued by Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccari, and mentioned in their catalogue of 1614 as 'Vn libro di ottanta pezzi di statue diuerse di Roma delle più principali, intagliate da Cherubino Alberti, Filippo Tommasini et Villamena et altri diuersi valent' huomini' (Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 64, l. 502).

3. In 1621 the plates came into the possession of Goert van Schaych (Gottifredus de Schaichis) who altered the lower part of the title-page as follows:—

ROMAE
Ex typis
Gottifredi de Schaichis
ad signum Aquilae nigrae in Via Parionis
prope Eccles. S. Thomae
MDCXXI
Pars secunda

I do not know what the *pars prima* was—probably the *Ornamenti di Fabbriche Antiche et Moderni*, but certainly not, as Hülsen thinks, Du Pérac's *Vestigi*: for, in all the copies of this edition of which I have was another in the Destailleur sale of 1885 (No. 630). Other copies of this edition seem to have been issued with only one plate printed on a page, and with the words *parte terza* sometimes erased: there is one in the British Museum (786, K. 48) with the words left in containing sixty-one plates (wrongly entered in the catalogue as "mostly Cavalieri") of which Nos. 3, 52, 56 are before all letters. It was acquired in June, 1905, and was formerly in the library of the late Anton Springer. I have another containing sixty-three plates besides the title (with the words erased) including No. 68 and the plates from Cavalieri: and there is another in the University Library at Göttingen with title and sixty-four plates.

¹ They are Nos. 5, 44, 43, 34, 26, 63 of the 1621 edition. Hülsen has failed to notice, as Hübner also did, that No. 26 is Cavalieri, iii. iv. 34, and his hypothesis that these plates were added to make up an even number, fails.

knowledge¹ the plates are printed one on a page, so that the two works could not have been, as in the previous edition, bound together.

Van Schaych arranged the plates in a logical order, according to the collections in which the statues were preserved, though he was careless enough to reverse the correct order of the two plates of the "Trophies of Marius," and to introduce two illustrations of the same statue (Nos. 27, 33).

No later edition of the work is known, and the plates cannot now be found. Van Schaych's activity cannot be traced before 1618 nor after 1630: but while the plates of Du Pérac passed into the hands of Giambattista de Rossi of Piazza Navona, who published another edition of the *Vestigi* in 1639, the plates of Vaccaria's work were either lost, or not considered worth reproducing (see below III. A. 3).

III. *Publications based mainly on Cavalieri.*

The fate of Cavalieri's plates, on the other hand, is a curious and complicated one, and throws a good deal of light on the condition of the trade in engravings in Rome in the seventeenth century.

The first appearance of any of the plates is in the hands of Nicolas Van Aelst (d. 1613) who published a collection of 100 engravings, not including the title-page (III. B. 1): it contained all (twenty-eight) the original plates made for the first edition (I. 1 (a)) which had subsequently been discarded by Cavalieri himself, including three plates (Table γ, 16, 29, 30) which do not occur in I. 1, b-e, and most of those which had been retained in use, in the later issue of Books i. ii. (I. 2 (a)). In addition, he acquired a number of other plates (forty in all) which had been published in that issue, differing in most cases in subject from those just mentioned²: and he came into possession of, or had engraved, a number

¹ There is a copy in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (51, H. 23—Inv. 94888-94983), another in the Vatican (Cicognara, v. 3477), another in the Topham Library at Eton (B. i. 5, 38), a fourth at the British Museum (561 *b. 12 (1) cf. Hübner, p. 44), with odd prints from Cavalieri; while a fifth was in the possession of the bookseller Sig. Luzzietti of Rome (Catalogue 247, No. 236). The Vatican copy has an impression of No. 80 (Pasquino) with a number of legends—one beginning *Io non son*, cf. Q. 219), and a cardinal's hat with the Orsini arms. The cardinal must be either Alessandro Orsini (created 1615, died 1626—Mas-Latrie, Col. 1226, No. 40), or Virginio Orsini (created 1641, died 1676, *ib.* Col. 1229, No. 56).

² I do not know whether we should add iii. iv. No. 43, which is found in Hauser's copy. As Van Aelst had no more of Books iii. iv., and it does not appear later, I think it may have found its way in accidentally.

of additional engravings (thirty-two in all) (see Table γ^1) in order to make up the deficiencies in his collection, in which the Vatican was entirely unrepresented, including several copies after Vaccaria. See figs. 9-12.

The remainder of the plates of Books i. ii. (sixty-five in number) and all those of Books iii. iv. except seven² making 158 in all, do not appear until 1623, when the bulk of them were published by Giacomo Marcucci (III. A. 1). There is no doubt that this division was due to the

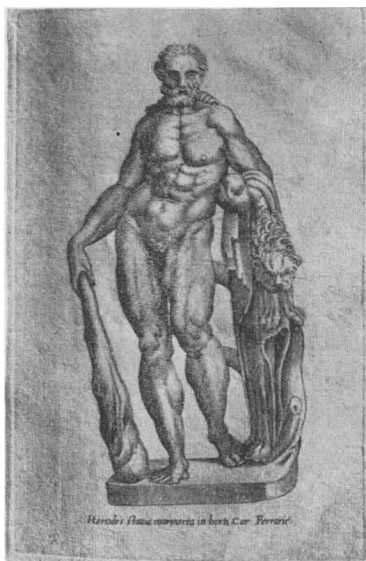


FIG. 9.—TABLE γ 2.
(Size of original 195×123 mm.)



FIG. 10.—TABLE γ 3.
(Size of original 199×122 mm.)

will of Cavalieri, which has not yet been published nor, so far as I know, even found.

¹ Nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 25, 26, 27, 34 (?) (besides 16, 29, 30, which belong to Cav. i.) are all earlier plates: while those which portray statues in the Villa Borghese must date from after 1608 or thereabouts.

Of Books iii. iv. eighty-six plates are to be found in the possession of Marcucci, six, as we have seen, passed to Vaccaria, one (perhaps) to Van Aelst (No. 43), two (Nos. 8, 65) appear only in the 1668 edition, and five are lost (Nos. 15, 31, 58, 77, 86). For the details, see the Tables.

² Marcucci used fifty-one of the plates of Books i. ii.; of these Nos. 51, 52, 55-59, 89, 90, 92 (these three last we also find in Van Aelst's possession), belonged to the original edition of Cavalieri: 85, 87, 96, 99, and 100 were also used by Van Aelst as well as by Marcucci. Of the remaining fourteen plates of Books i. ii., twelve were suppressed as duplicates of the original plates, and two cannot be traced (Nos. 13, 76). Nos. 18, 93 were not used until 1645.

In 1650 or thereabouts, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, the successor of Marcucci, published a much smaller collection, which was reissued in 1668 (III. A. 3, 4). In the last only fifteen plates from Books i. ii. were retained, and fifty-five from Books iii. iv., all of which have since been lost.

The balance of the plates which had been in Marcucci's possession passed instead to Giovanni Domenico De Rossi, who, in 1645, issued a collection of 140 plates, including two title-pages. This included eighteen plates from Books i. ii. and thirty-two from iii. iv. from Marcucci's stock, no further use being made of the rest. It is this collection which is still preserved in the Regia Calcografia (III. B. 3-5).



FIG. 11.—TABLE γ 23.
(Size of original 204 × 138 mm.)



FIG. 12.—TABLE γ 25.
(Size of original 204 × 120 mm.)

We may now proceed to study the various editions somewhat more in detail, taking first those which contain plates which have been lost, and afterwards those which have survived up to the present day.

III. A. 1. In 1623 Giacomo Marcucci published a collection of 140 plates, including three title-pages. There are two copies of it known to me—one in the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome,

and the other in the Biblioteca Angelica (KK. 1, 16) to which it was left by the learned Lucas Holste (d. 1651).



FIG. 13.—TITLE-PAGE OF MARCUCCI.
Book I (Edition III. A. 1). (Size of original, 227×153 mm.)

The plate used for the title-page of all the three books into which it is divided is that which served for Books iii. iv. of Cavalieri's collection :

but the arms at the top have been cut out, and so has all the legend after *Romae*, leaving two spaces which were filled in different ways in each case, by the use of movable labels. On the bases which support the pairs of columns on each side the following legend has been inserted :—

ROMAE	MDCXXIII
<i>Cum priuilegio S. Pont.</i>	<i>Se stampano in Piazza Nauona.</i>

The first book was dedicated to Cassiano dal Pozzo, and the following legend was added :

LIBER PRIMVS
Admodum Ill^{mo}, et Eruditiss^{mo} viro
D. Equiti Cassiano a Puteo Dno. ac prono Col^{mo}.
Jacobus Marchuccius humill. servus
Dat. D.D.

In the German Institute copy the arms of Cassiano dal Pozzo have been inserted (the reproduction (Fig. 13) is from *Papers*, vi. p. 187) : while in the Biblioteca Angelica copy the space is left blank.

The second book was dedicated to Giovanni Battista Soria¹ and the following added :—

LIBER SECVNDVS
Ab^{re} Illre Sig^{re} et Pron. mio Ossem^{mo}. Il
Sig^{re} Gio. Batista Soria
Jacomo Marchucci Vmillissimo seruitore
Dat. D. D.

The arms of Marcucci himself have been added in the space above : they are : a fess charged with two stars between a cup in chief and a wheel in base.² They occur on the title-page of a rare collection of views

¹ Giovanni Battista Soria (1581–1651) was an architect of some merit, and was responsible for the façades of S. Maria della Vittoria, S. Gregorio, and S. Carlo ai Catenari in Rome. In 1624–36 he published four books of engravings after the architectural drawings of Giambattista Montano, who died in 1621 ; they were at that time in the library of Cassiano dal Pozzo, and are now in the Soane Museum. The work was originally intended to have been in seven books : and a reissue of it, published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi in 1684–1691, was somewhat enlarged, the book of sixty-six Tempietti (mostly ancient tombs) having been divided into two books of forty-eight plates each not including the title-page : while the other books remained as they were. I hope to give some account of this interesting collection on another occasion.

² In the catalogue (*Katalog der Bibliothek*, i. p. 1246) it is stated that the name of J. B. De Rossi occurs on the title-page, but this is not in accordance with my notes.

of Rome, also dedicated to Soria, entitled *GRANDEZZE DELLA CITTA DI ROMA disegniata et intagliata da Iacomo Crulli de Marcucci et dallo stesso dato in luce l'an 1625* (it was reprinted in four languages in 1628 : see Catalogue 269, No. 253 of the bookseller Luzziatti of Rome).

The third book bears the following dedication :—

LIBER TERTIVS

*Perill^r Admodⁿ DD. Francisco Gualdo
S. Stefani Equiti . Leonis . XI. Intmo.
Cubit^{io} . Pauli . V. et Gregori . XV. et
Vrbani . VIII. Familiari
Vmilissimo Seruo
Jacomo Marchucci . Dat . D . D.*

The arms of Gualdo himself are given in the space above : they are— a fess charged with the cross of S. Stephen lengthwise between an eagle in chief and a lion rampant in base.

The first two books which have a continuous numbering from 1 to 100¹ contain for the most part plates from the third and fourth books of Cavalieri's collection, of which, as we have seen, the bulk passed into Marcucci's hands. The third book, on the other hand, is made up except for one plate (the last) of plates from Books i. ii. which have been renumbered to fit into their places, from 2 to 39.

III. A. 2. There is another copy of Marcucci in Berlin, in two books containing 100 plates including the two title-pages, which has been collated by Prof. Hülsen. The title-page of the first book is identical with that just

¹ The plates for the most part retain their original numbering : but the blanks have been filled up by the introduction of thirteen plates from Books i. ii. of which some have been renumbered, while others retain their old numbers. The title-pages are reckoned as Nos. 1 and 51 respectively in the Biblioteca Angelica copy : there are two plates (iii. iv. 2, 29) both bearing the number 2, but No. 29 should probably be regarded as No. 5 (indeed in the German Institute copy it is so numbered). In both the copies we are describing iii. iv. 1 figures as No. 8 : but it should be noticed that in the Biblioteca Angelica copy a leaf has been cut out after it, and that iii. iv. 8 with its original number figures in the 1668 edition. No. 65 also occurs only in the 1668 edition.

In Column V. of Table *a* the plates which belong to the first two books are distinguished by an *a* preceding the number, and those belonging to the third book by a *b*.

There is a fragmentary copy of this edition, with the first two books complete, but only a few plates of the third and only one title-page, without any dedication or arms inserted, in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (26, L. 8 : Inv. 03238-03347).

described, but though the dedication to Cassiano dal Pozzo remains, the arms of Marcucci have been substituted.

This edition represents a slightly later stage, inasmuch as the transferences of certain statues to Villa Borghese (which had occurred some years before) have been noted on the plates.¹ The numbers, too, have been removed.

3. Another edition also preserved in the Library of the German Institute in Rome (*Katalog, cit.*) had a title-page adapted from that of Books i. ii. of Cavalieri's collection and fifty-seven plates unnumbered, most of them from Books iii. iv.² The title-page is as above, and the title runs as follows :—

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
*All' Illus^{mo}. et Rever^{mo}.
Il Sigr. Conte Francesco Calcagni
Umilissimo Ser^e Iacomo Marcucci Dona Dedicu.*

The last line has been partially erased, and in its place the following has been inserted :—

*Dona Dedicu Gio. Batt. Rossi in
Piazzo Navona.*

The plates, as is natural, show the alterations noted in note ¹.

The exact date of this edition cannot be determined, though it must be earlier than 1668. Giovanni Battista de Rossi of Milan, who appears as the successor of Marcucci in Piazza Navona, was probably the son of Giuseppe Rossi (*infra*, 139). His first-known publication is the fifth edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi*³ (1639) : the second edition of Du Pérac's

¹ The numbers are as follows : Cav. i. ii. 22 (wrongly), iii. iv. 23, 24 (wrongly), 25, 54, 69, 73, 75, 79, 88.

² A copy in the possession of Prof. R. Lanciani had fifty plates (including title), printed two on a page and bound with Giovanni Battista de Rossi's 1653 edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi* and other works, the latest being a plate relating to the conclave of 1655.

³ For this edition see my article in *Bibliofilia* cited p. 127, n. 2 : the edition of 1680 is described, *ibid.* xvii (1915-6), 358.

Bird's-eye View of Rome (1640) originally brought out in 1577 (Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 25) comes next. In the same year he published a reissue of Dosio's album of views of Rome (*supra*, 113).¹ He published other editions (the sixth, seventh and eighth) of the *Vestigi* in 1653, 1671, and 1680, after which we have no further evidence of his activity: and in the same year we meet with the name of his son, Matteo Gregorio, as a publisher for the first time.²

4. In 1668 another edition appeared, with the title as before, but the words *Vltima Impressione Anno 1668* substituted for *Dona Dedica* (Fig. 14). A copy of it lent me by the late Prof. Hauser contained fifty-six plates (including the title) printed two on a page without numbers, all of them but three being taken from Cavalieri, Books iii. iv. There is another in the British Museum (559* B. 39 (1)) following the *Collectio XLIX. Statuarum* (a collection of eighteen oblong folio plates, on which are forty-nine statues, one of which, the Farnese Bull, bears date 1641, and the address of Giambattista de Rossi) containing sixty-four plates from Cavalieri, Books iii. iv.: and there is a third copy in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden (A. 815 n. 3), with title and sixty-five plates, also unnumbered. Their contents vary, so that 70 plates are accounted for.

None of these plates have been preserved: and they were indeed only about half of what Marcucci had had. The rest passed, under what circumstances we do not know, to the other branch of the De Rossi family, whose shop was near S. Maria della Pace: and we shall see that a good number of them are still in existence.

¹ Lang, *Catalogo* x. No. 39, cited by Ozzola, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxiii. (1910), 400.

² Matteo Gregorio seems to have been the publisher of the internal elevation of S. Peter's which Ehrle (*op. cit.* p. 23, n. 5) mentions as "Fatta misurare da M.G.R. 1682," though he does not consider his first work to come before 1686 (the edition of the *Nuovo Splendore delle Fabriche di Roma Moderna*, which is simply a copy of the 1667 edition published by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, the plates being by far inferior). Ehrle has, however, omitted to notice the plan of 1668 (Hülsen, *Arch. Soc. Rom. cit.*, Nos. 128, 129) which was drawn and engraved by Matteo Gregorio and published by his father, and was then republished by Matteo himself in 1680; and he has also omitted the *Prospectus locorum Urbis Romae insignium* inventore Mattaeo Gregorio de Rubeis Romano delineati et aere incisi a Livinio Cruyl Gandavensi; *Liber Primus*, published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1666 (cf. German Institute Library, *Katalog*, i. 617). Matteo Gregorio's name has been inserted at a later date over an erasure on the title-page of the *Raccolta delle Principali Fontane dell' Inclita Città di Roma deseguate et intagliate da Domenico Parasacchi*, published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1647. Nor does he mention Giuseppe Giulio Rossi, who must have been the heir of Matteo Gregorio (of whom we hear no more after 1696) who published the ninth edition of the *Vestigi* in his shop in Piazza Navona in 1709.

But we must first return to the edition of Nicolas Van Aelst.

III. B. I. Nicolas Van Aelst of Brussels (Ehrle, p. 21) was one of the most active publishers of engravings of the end of the sixteenth

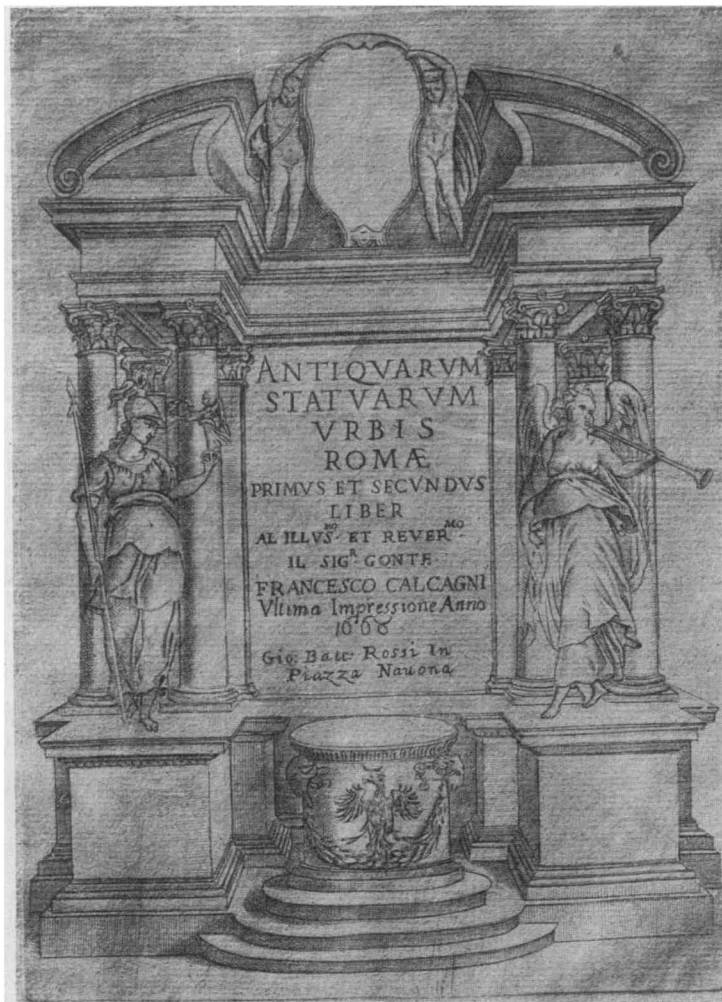


FIG. 14.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION III. A. 4.
(Size of original 237×173 mm.)

century, and besides a number of older plates that came into his hands (including some plates of the *Speculum* of Lafrèry) he engraved a number of new ones, especially during the reign of Sixtus V. His first publication

was not the plan of Rome which Ehrle wrongly attributes to 1583¹ (on p. 24 he gives the date 1582 for the commencement of his activity, but without evidence) but the engraving which he cites as published in 1584. No print of his after 1605 is known. According to Nagler (*Monogrammisten*, iv. 2563) he was born in 1526, and Ehrle publishes an extract from the parish register of SS. Maria e Gregorio in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) to show that he died in 1613. His shop was near S. Maria della Pace, in a house belonging to S. Maria dell'Anima. At some date not before 1605² he published the collection of which we have spoken above (p. 129) under the title :—

INSIGNIORES STATVARVM
VRBIS ROMAE ICONES
ANTIQVITATIS
STVDIOSIS
et virtutis amantibus
Nicolaus van Aelst
Bruxellensis propensa
voluntatis sua ergo
Dedicat, et donat,
Romae, superiorū permissu

The late Prof. Hauser lent me a copy of this edition containing ninety-four plates, including the two title-pages, and I recently acquired one myself (at the Pembroke sale at Sotheby's in March, 1920, Lot 69) which contains 100 plates, including the title-page.³ The plate described as No. 24 of Table γ occurs at the end of this copy, and does not seem to have become the title-page of the second book until the enlargement of the collection in 1645: while No. 36 is absent from it. As, however, this plate occurs both in Prof. Hauser's copy and in my copy of the 1619 edition, I have assumed that it formed part of a complete copy, which I have therefore supposed to consist of 100 plates, not including the title-page. They are enumerated in Table α, col. VII. and in Table γ.

¹ This plan was first published in 1590, and again in 1593 (Hülßen, Nos. 62–64) and 1597. The British Museum Catalogue of Maps is responsible for the error, the date being wrongly printed as 1583 (II. 3547) and the reference should be 23805(9) as Mr. Forsdyke informs me.

² The *terminus post quem* is fixed by the fact that items belonging to the collection formed by Scipione Borghese (who became cardinal in that year) are included (Nos. 8, 23, 28, 33 in Table γ).

³ It includes both versions of the Farnese Flora (Cav. i. 12, i. ii. 33) which indeed are still in the Calcografia collection (Nos. 120, 109), and of the "horse-tamers" on the Quirinal.

2. A second edition was published in 1619, the address (lines 7–end) being altered to the following :

*Ioseph de Rubaeis Mediols.
Formis Romae Anno
Domini M.DC. XIX.*

I possess a copy of this edition without the title-page, and with three extraneous plates inserted, bound at the end of a volume containing the two books of Giovanni Maggi's *Aedificia et Ruinae Romae* and the *Fontane Diverse che si vedano nel Alma Città di Roma*, both published by Giuseppe de Rossi in 1618. The other copies of the 1619 edition which I have seen are less complete, and the plates are in all cases unnumbered.¹ Giuseppe Rossi (or De Rossi) *junior* appears as the successor of Van Aelst on prints after Tempesta²: and this argues the existence of a Giuseppe de Rossi *senior*, who must have been the founder of the business. There is, however, so far as I know, no print bearing his name in existence, and he is entirely unknown to Ehrle and to Ozzola. We first meet with Giuseppe De Rossi *junior* on the title-page of an edition of Tempesta's *Venationes*, dated 1605 (the original edition bore the name of Giovanni Orlandi, and the date 1602).³ This agrees with the evidence given by him in a trial of a case between Giacomo Lauro and Francesco de' Paoli in 1635, in which he is described as a native of Galliaia⁴ in the State of Milan: he stated that his shop was opposite S. Biagio alla Pace (which tallies with the description of the situation of Van Aelst's shop) and that he had known Lauro for over thirty years. Documents in the archives of S. Maria dell'Anima

¹ There is a copy with eighty-five plates in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (203, B. 24) another in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe at Rome with title and eighty-three plates (51, H. 24: Inv. 194986–195069) among which is Cav. i. ii. 8. Another, with sixty plates, is at Eton (Topham Library, B. i. V. 37) and a fourth, with title and forty-nine plates, in the library of the American Academy in Rome.

² Bartsch. xvii. 170, 1165; 171, 1169 (both undated).

³ Bartsch *cit.* 165, 1075–1104: the name *Apud Joseph de Rubeis* has been added on the left below in place of *Ioannes Orlandi formis; Romae* remains, and the date has been altered. In Bartsch *cit.* 159, 861 I should suspect (without having seen it) that his name had been added later also, as it bears date 1598. Ozzola (*op. cit.* p. 406, n. 30) is not able to quote any print of his earlier than 1615 and noted one of 1636 (Bartsch, xx. 173. 8) which bears a dedication to Cassiano dal Pozzo. It is by Andrea Podestà, after a picture of Venus surrounded by Cupids, painted by Titian for the Duke of Ferrara.

⁴ Gallia (as it is now spelt) is a small village S.S.E. of Lomello, near the Po.

enable us to fix the precise position of the house at the corner of the Via della Pace and the Via Tor Millina, and also the year of his death (1639).

3. As we have seen, the next edition of this collection was considerably enlarged by the addition of forty-five more plates from Marcucci's stock (for of the fifty plates which came from Marcucci to Giovanni Domenico de Rossi (*supra*, p. 131) five had been used by Van Aelst also) : on the other hand, two plates from Cavalieri i. ii., and five of those which had been added by Van Aelst were omitted.¹ The plates of the original edition of Cavalieri were as a rule preferred to the later ones (an exception is formed by i. ii. 28). The title of the first book was altered as follows (lines 7-end).

Ioannes Dominicus de Rubeis
Formis Romae Anno
Domini M. D. C. XXXXV. (Fig. 15)

while the second received the following legend :—

LIBER SECVNDVS STATVARVM ROMÆ
Apud Joannes Dominicus de Rubeis
ad Pacem formis
Romæ 1645 (Fig. 16.)

Of the two copies known, one is in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fb. 17, No. 793) and the other in the collection of Prof. Hülsen. The contents are given in Col. VIII. of Table *a* below. They are unnumbered, except for a few exceptions noted in the table, where older numbers, which have no reference to their actual order (which indeed differs considerably in the two copies) still remain. Giandomenico de Rossi, whom Ehrle does not mention, fills up the gap between Giuseppe and Giangiacomo de Rossi in his table (p. 24). Ozzola cites two engravings which bear his name, one of 1640, the other of 1655 : he considers him to have been the brother of the former and the uncle or father of the latter.² But, as we find that the heirs of Giuseppe de Rossi continued to pay the rent of the shop until 1659, and that Giangiacomo's name only appears in this connexion in

¹ Of the two copies known to me, one lacks Cav. i. ii. 87, which is in the *Calcografia* collection : and both lack i. ii. 96, which does not occur again. Two representations of the same statue were twice included (Cavalieri i. 4 and i. ii. 24 ; and *ibid.* i. 12, and i. ii. 33).

² P. 407, n. 35. Zani, *Enciclopedia*, xvi. 216, says that he was living in 1660.

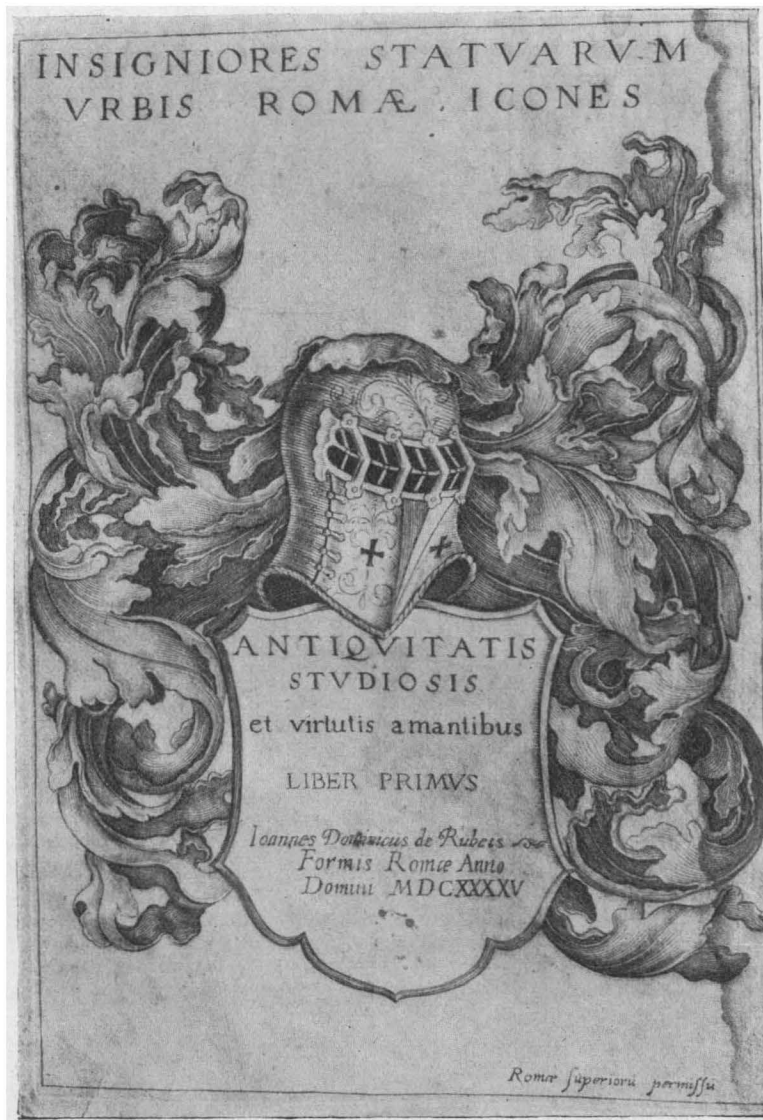


FIG. 15.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION B. 3, BOOK I.
(Size of original 205×142 mm.)

1660, it is more likely that he was the son of Giuseppe and the brother and co-heir of Giangiacomo.



FIG. 16.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION B. 3, BOOK II.
(Size of original 232×165 mm.)

4. The next edition was issued by Giovanni Giacomo de Kossi, the most important member of the family, whose career lasted at least from

1648, when he published the third edition of Tempesta's large plan of Rome (Hülsen, No. 86) until 1692 (Ehrle, 68).¹

¹ This was very likely one of his first publications, for it is noteworthy that the dedication bears the name of Giandomenico. Ozzola is certainly wrong in attributing to him the first edition of Perrier's *Icones et Segmenta* (1638), for there are plenty of copies in existence without his imprint which is the sign of a later edition. He also cites a variety of Bartsch, xx. 173, 7 (a Bacchanalian scene by Andrea Podestà after Titian) which bears his name and the date 1640 (Dresden, Ital. Sch. 334 : 39702) : I should like to be sure that the two are contemporary, as the next date he cites is 1651.

It is probable that Giovanni Antonio de Rossi, the architect of the conclave of 1676, was some relation of his, for the former dedicated to Cardinal Altieri a plan engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda, which he printed and published. As to the date of his death or retirement from business, we may note that the last engraving which bears his name is a print of the Conclave of 1691 (Ehrle, p. 22) ; and in 1693 Domenico was already (for example, on Ameti's map of Latium) calling himself son and heir of Giangiacomo, who must certainly have retired from business—and indeed one would have supposed that he was dead, had it not been for the entry, in the books of S. Maria dell' Anima, of a payment for rent of the shop by him in 1694. Taking into consideration, however, the fact that Domenico's name remained on the books as late as 1738, whereas we know that he died in 1724, it is clear that the books were kept so carelessly that we may disregard this entry.

Domenico was apparently the first of the family to issue a printed catalogue of his publications. The earliest edition known to Ehrle bears date 1705 : but I possess one of 1700, the title of which is as follows : INDICE DELLE STAMPE Intagliate in Rame, al bulino ed all'acqua forte, con li loro prezzi secondo corrono al presente. *Esistente nella Stamperia DI GIO. GIACOMO DE ROSSI, E DOMENICO DE ROSSI suo Erede appresso S. Maria della Pace. Nel quale si comprendono. Carte Geografiche, Città, Assedii diversi, Piante, Alzate, e Prospetto di Roma Antica, e Moderna con varie Vedute di essa, Chiese, Altari, Palazzi, Giardini, Statue, Bassi rilievi, Gulie, Colonne, con le Fontane dentro, e fuori nelle Ville di Frascati, e di Tivoli, ed altri monumenti, Ornamenti di Architectura, ed Opere de' piu celebri Pittori, Gallerie, Cupole, ed altre de' piu insigni Artefici, Ritratti de' Sommi Pontefici, Imperatori, Rè di Francia, e di Spagna, e gran Signori Turchi, e delli Rè di Polonia, con le loro Cronologie, Ritratti di Cardinali, Principi, e di altri Personaggi Illustri, e Guerrieri, e diverse Opere Sagre, e profane.* IN ROMA, MDCC. CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI. On p. 3 is an authorisation for reprinting (*Reimprimatur*) so that this is not the earliest edition. It is in 12mo. and has 92+4 pages : and it is followed by a smaller work of 24 pp., bearing the title INDICE SECONDO Disposto per Alfabeto, *Nel quale si comprendono le Stampe ordinarie intagliate in rame, al bulino, & all' acqua forte.* Esistenti nella Stamperia DI GIO. GIACOMO DE ROSSI In Roma alla Pace. IN ROMA MDC XCVI. Per Antonio de Rossi dietro à San Silvestro in Capite à strada della Vite. CON LICENZA DE SUPERIORI. There is no *imprimatur*, and we cannot therefore be sure if this is the first edition. It is curious that the name of Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi is found alone on the title-page of the second work : but it is also quite likely that Domenico may not have thought it good business to substitute his own name for his father's until he had become better known. The same is the case, indeed, with the *Altro indice delle carte . . . di diversi autori* of 1699 (Cambridge, University Library, v. ii. 672).

I have another copy of the Indice (pp. 105+3), bearing date 1724, on the title-page of which the name of Domenico de Rossi, erede di Gio. Giacomo still appears. This was the very year of his death, for Ehrle cites an edition of the same date issued by Lorenzo Filippo de' Rossi, figlio del fu Domenico, erede di Gio. Giacomo (Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, K. i. 46).

In 1738, as Ehrle tells us, the whole stock of the De Rossi family was bought by

He substituted his own name on the title pages for that of Giandomenico, but cancelled the date without inserting a new one. He was also responsible for the numbering of the plates (see Table *a*, Col. IX: Table *γ*, Col. II).

The contents of the collection were the same as those of the edition of 1645.

The only copy I have seen is in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (20. A. IV. 60-61).

5. The plates passed, as we have seen, to the Calcografia Camerale in 1738: and in the catalogue of 1797 (p. 4) they are entered as 140 in number, at the price of 2 scudi 50 baiocchi. But in 1823, in all probability, seven of them were suppressed by order of Leo XII. as indecent (Ehrle, p. 24, n. 9) (Cavallieri iii. iv. 30, 66-67, 68, 70, 81: Table *γ*, 33), and the latter part of the collection was consequently renumbered. The plates are still preserved in the Regia Calcografia (*Catalogo*, No. 1341).

It will be seen that the matter is by no means so simple as Hübner seemed to think. He dismisses the whole question as follows (p. 47), "the plates of Cavallieri (sic) and Vaccarius were thus in 1621, as the title of the volume cited proves, in the possession of Gottifredus de Schaichis. Cavallieri's plates have been preserved until the present day: they are in the Calcografia Camerale." If this were all, the foregoing paper need never have been written.¹

Clement XII. for 45,000 scudi, after an attempt to sell it to some Englishmen for 60,000 scudi had been frustrated, and the Pope thus founded the Calcografia Camerale: this was taken over in 1870 by the Italian Government, and became the Calcografia Reale. (Ovidi, *La Calcografia Romana*, pp. 11 *sqq.*)

¹ The article which was announced in the *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino* published by the School (p. 12) as about to appear in *Bibliofilia*, vol. xiv. (1912), was never written, and its place has been taken by the present paper, which also supersedes the bibliography given in *Cap. Cat.* p. 11 *sqq.* I have not thought it necessary to mention all the errors and omissions which will be found there: though I may point out that the misquotation of the title of the *Collectio XLIX Statuarum* (*supra*, p. 136) and that of the 1668 edition of Marcucci (III. A. 4) are due to Michaelis and Schreiber respectively. I must also acknowledge the help received from Prof. H. Stuart Jones, in conjunction with whom I first worked through the collections of engravings I have described.

NOTES ON THE TABLES.

1. The legends which occur on the plates have not been given, so as not to overburden the tables : and for the same reason the variations which were subsequently introduced in them have not been noted where they do not add any new fact.

2. The numbers in the different columns give the order of the plates in the various editions. The numbers in round brackets are the numbers which are actually found on the plates, when they have survived from an earlier arrangement and thus have no significance. In Column V of Table *a*, *a* means that the numbering refers to the place of the plate in Books i. ii. of the edition of 1623, *b* to its place in Book iii. (p. 134, n. 1).

— means that the engraving is present, but without a number.

Square brackets indicate the use of a different plate.

3. The following abbreviations have been adopted :—

A. = Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*.

Am. = Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*.

D. = Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Italien*.

E.C. = Enlarged copy.

H. = Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten* (the inventories, pp. 11 *sqq.*, 97 *sqq.*, are cited by numbers).

M.-D. = Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*.

N.D. = New drawing.

N.P. = New plate.

Q. = The copy of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* of Antoine Lafréry described in Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135, pp. 119 *sqq.* No. 1530.

R. = Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire* (Vol. i, the reproduction, of Clarac, is cited simply as I).

4. In Table *a* (1), columns Ia and Ib, where the number of a plate is given on the same line, the same plate has been used in both editions.

TABLE a (1). CAVALIERI, BOOKS I, II.

Ia Second Edition, Bk. I. (1561) (I. 1 b)	Ib Standard Edition Bks. I., II. (I. 2 a, b)	II. Remarks.	III. Name.	IV. Collection.	V. 1623-1668.	VII. Van Aelst 1619.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calco- grafia.	XI. Present Locality.
	1		Laocoon	Vatican	b 16		(1)	78	78	Vatican, Belvedere 74.
	2		Tiber	" (garden)	b 2	[γ 11]	(-)	[53]	[53]	Louvre, Cat. Somm. 192.
	3		Nile	"	b 3	[γ 12]	(-)	[54]	[54]	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 100.
	4		Apollo	Vatican (Belvedere)	a 34		(-)	24	24	Vatican, Belvedere 92.
	5		Milo or Antinous	Vatican (garden)	b 34		(-)	82	82	" "
	6	(draped female)	Cleopatra	"	a 65	[γ 14]	(-)	[58]	[58]	" Gall. Stat. 414.
	7	(Hera?)	Goddess	"	b 39		(15)	129	122	Capitol, Salone 24.
	8		Goddess	"	a 9					Vatican, Garden ? R. ii. 687. 2 : A. 774.
	9	(draped female)	Vesta	"	a 31					Vatican, Garden ?
	10	(Portrait)	Goddess	"	a 77					Capitol, Atrio 8.
	11		Julia C. Pe-	"	b 18		(12)	131	124	Vatican, Garden ? R. i. 182. 3 : A. 784.
	12		trout uxur'	"	a 14		(18)	85	85	Lost : cf. Capitol Catalogue, pp. 35, 364.
	13		Cybele	"	a 15		(14)	132	125	Vatican, Garden : R. ii. 687. 5 : A. 786.
	14	(draped female)	Fortuna	"	a 86		(17)	128	121	Capitol, Scala 1.
	15		Pudicitia	"	b 17		(18)	135	128	Vatican, Garden : R. ii. 687. 4 : A. 785.
	16		Flora	"			(1)	3(1)	3(1)	Conservatori, Cortile 19, 21, 3 : H. 84, 87.
	17	(draped female)	Polyhymnia	"	a 43			4	4	Conservatori, Cortile 24 : H. 85.
	18		Goddess	"	b 20			5	5	" " " 17 : H. 86.
	19	E. C.	Rome	"	a 21					Ludovisi 4 (Schreiber) : Terme 8571
	20		Parthian King	"	a 22 ⁴	[γ 34]		20	20	(Paribeni, <i>Guida</i> 1911, 190) H. 141
	21		" (another)	"	b 23			105	105	H. 89.
	22	(Pan and Daphnis)	Satyr and Youth	"	b 24			117	117	Capitol, Gladiatore 2 : H. 1.
	23		Consul	"	b 29			124	124	H. 71. b Capitol, Salone 11.
	24	E. C. (uncertain)	Amazon	"	b 27			98	98	H. 110. " Atrio 10.
	25	E. C.	'Agrippina'	"				30	30	Naples, 280 (6001) : R. i. 465. 1-3.
	26	E. C.	Semele	"						" 1015 (6000).
	27	E. C.	Hercules	Farnese						
	28	N. D.	'Gladiator alias Imperator'	"						
		N. D.	Gladiator	"						

1 Plate of 1st edition.

2 For 12, 14, 16 cf. Capitol Catalogue pp. 369, 403 (they are in the casino of Pius IV.).

3 The numbering is that of the Catalogue of the Museo dei Conservatori which the School has in preparation.

4 Locality altered (wrongly) to *in Villa Borgesia*.

5 In his addenda (p. 123) Hülsen follows Amelung in identifying it with Munich, Glyptothek 208.

6 Found only in the earlier edition (III A. 3).

8	N. D.	Atreus	Farnese	77	77	Naples, 243 (5999): R. i. 486. 5.
14	E. C.	Commodus	"	6	6	" 76 (6122): R. i. 519. 4. ¹
15	E. C.	Parthian king	"	7	7	" 77 (6116): R. i. 519. 6.
11	E. C.	Armenian king	"	108	108	" 242 (6409): R. i. 212. 5.
12	N. D.	'Spes'	"	120	120	" 42 (5978): R. i. 214. 4.
13	N. D.	Goddess	"	109	109	" 707 (6281): R. i. 254. 1.
17	N. D.	Pomona	"	133	133	Florence, D. iii. 213; Am. 98 (?): A. 357/9.
	(porphyry, extremities of bronze)	Flora	"			
	(extremities of white marble, drapery of black)	Rome	"			
	N. D.	Nymph of Diana	"	123	96	
35	E. C.	'Vestalis dea'	"	129	132	Replica of Naples 530 (6554) (R. i. 373. 3).
36	E. C.	'Hermaphrodite'	"	25	25	and of Villa Albani 103 (R. i. 389. 8).
37	(Apollo)	Minerva	"	88	88	Naples 675 (6262): R. i. 243. 6.
18	E. C.	Aesculapius	Card. Ferrara (Este)	50	50	" 483 (6319): R. i. 250. 4.
20	E. C.	" (another)	" 4	51	51	? H. 1 (later to Villa Medici)
21	E. C.	"	" 4	18	18	Ad. Louvre, Cat. Somm. 639 (R. i. 148. 4).
36	E. C.	Hadrian	" 4	107	107	H. 26. Vatican Garden, A. 800.
41	E. C.	Spes	" 4	119	119	H. 21. Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 132.
42	E. C.	Psyche	"	94	94	H. 44/46. " (reflected by Hübner, p. 94).
24	E. C.	Hygia	"	99(34)	99	H. 110. Capitol, Gladiatore 6.
35	E. C.	Ceres	"	87	87	H. 109. Vatican, Giardino della Pigna
39	E. C.	Diana	"	86	86	(not in catalogues) ⁵ : R. ii. 338. 2.
46	E. C.	Juno	"	37	37	H. 20. Quirinal, M.-D. 1422.
33	(draped female)	'Aeternitas'	"	38	38	H. 2. Later to Villa Medici.
28	"	unknown	"	35	35	Hadrian's Villa (?) (<i>Archaeologia</i> , lxi.
32	"	Venus, Eros, Anteros	"	97	97	(1908) 225 note d).
38	"	'Venus Cypria'	"	52	52	H. 44/46. " ?
34	"		"			H. 44/46. " ?
			"			H. 22/23. Vatican, Chiaramonti 14. ⁶
			"			H. 126. ⁷ Dresden, Hettner 280: R. i. 313. 4.
			"			H. 12. Vatican, Chiaramonti 353: R. ii.
			"			377. 5.
			"			H. 128. Florence, Pluti: D. ii. 6.

¹ See Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xii. (1898) p. 253, n. 28.

² *Syll. des Fibres Statues in Act. Farnesianas.*

³ In the 'standard' edition, owing to rearrangement, 'ibidem' in the legend wrongly refers, not to Card. Ferrara, but to Farnese.

⁴ cf. my article on 'the Villa d'Este, in *Archaeologia*, lxi. (1908), p. 252.

⁵ Hülseu (following Amelung) says this statue may have been found in excavations on the Palatine in 1566, 1569, or 1570 (Addenda, p. 124) is initiated by the fact that it occurs in the first edition (before 1562), the arrangement of the plates in which makes it not improbable.

⁶ The number is reckoned as though it were 25.

⁷ In *Campidoglio* (added wrongly).

⁸ In *Campidoglio* (added wrongly).

TABLE a (1). CAVALIERI, BOOKS I, II. — (continued).

Ia Second Edition, Bk. I. (1951) (I. i. 16)	Ib Standard Edition, Bks. I, II. (I. 2a, b)	II. Remarks.	III. Name.	IV. Collection.	V. 1623.	VI. 1668.	VII. Van Aelst. 1619.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calco- grafia.	XI. Present Locality.
22	53	copy (same size)	'Tyro, wife of Hercules'	Card. Ferrara	b 13		—	—	122	39	H. 39. ¹
25	54	E. C.	'Mnemosyne'	"	b 14		—	—	126	92	H. 54. ²
26	55		" (another)	"	b 21			(21)	127	91	H. 53. Vatican. Chiaramonti 177.
30	56		Urania	"	b 30	—					H. 48. " " "
27	57		Pallas	"	b 32	—					H. 51. " " " 61.
29	58		Polyhymnia	"	a 58	—					H. 49. " " " 63.
31	59		Comedy	"	b 22	—					H. 50. " " " 16.
23	60	E. C.	Bellona	"	a 61		—	—	90	90	H. 52. " " " 492.
	61		Hercules	Villa Papa Giulio III.							H. 52. " " " 493. ³
	62		Shepherd	"			—	—	32	32	Cf. Thode, 4 p. 26, No. 20.
	63	(male nude)	unknown	"			—	—	44	44	M.-D. 417; now Ny Carlsberg 158.
	64	(draped female)	Goddess	"			—	—	21	21	M.-D. 1051 (?)
	65	(Leda)	'Venus'	"			—	—	134	127	Florence, Uffizi, D. iii. 228. (R. i. 197. 3)?
	66	(draped female)	Goddess	"			—	—	94	94	"
	67		Ceres	"			—	—	140	133	"
	68		M. Aurelius	Capitol (Piazza)			—	—	101	101	"
42	69		Tigris (rest. as Tiber)	"			—	—	16	16	Capitol, Piazza. (Helbig i. 3 p. 408).
43	70		Nile	"			—	—	56	56	" (Helbig i. 3 p. 412).
44	71		Augustus	Capitol			—	—	55	55	"
	72		Julius Caesar	"			—	—	13	13	Conservatori, Cortile 2 (Helbig i. 3 No. 886).
	73	(Camillus)	Bronze statue	"			—	—	12	12	Conservatori, Cortile 1 (Helbig i. 3 No. 885).
	74	(Thornboy)	Bronze statue	"			—	—	67	67	Conservatori, Bronzes 14 (Helbig i. 3 No. 957).
	75 ⁶		Bronze Hercules	"			—	—	73	73	Conservatori, Bronzes 1 (Helbig i. 3 956).
	76		Jupiter	"			—	—	33	33	Conservatori, 2nd Storey Corridor, 34. (Helbig i. 3 1003).
45	77		Ceres	"			—	—	103	103	Capitol, Atrio 41.
	78		Constantine	"			—	—	17	17	" Piazza (Helbig i. 3 p. 411).
	79		Lion and horse	"			—	—	81	81	Conservatori, Garden 100 (Helbig i. 3 No. 944).

1 Penna (*Villa Adriana* iii. 34) conjectures, but without any real grounds, that this is one of five statues lost at sea in 1774 (*Archaeologia* lxi. 238). Ligorio (*Vat. Lat.* 5995, 21, *Taur.* xx. 44) records the discovery of fragments of two statues in Hadrian's Villa (Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrianus* (*Jahrb. d. Ver. Eigenumschaft* iii. 153), each of a seated woman with a child under her chair. He notes that the drapery was very thin, and the *thawra* had very delicate folds. One of these, the present one, seems to be lost: the other is now in Florence (Uffizi 35, D. iii. 60, Am. 85).¹ The illustration of Helen's eyes is not reverse 1 as he appears to think: it is from plate 22 of the original edition.

² Probably the repl. of the 'Polyhymnia' in the Sala delle Muse which now stands on the roof of the Braccio Nuovo (Ameletung, *Vatika. Katalog* i. p. 848).

³ Cannot be Capitol, Salone 8 (44, R. ii. 277. 9 suggests 5) which was not found until the eighteenth century.

⁴ *Die Antiken in den Stichen Marcantonios*.
⁵ After Lafrey Q. 132.

TABLE a (2). CAVALIERI, BOOKS III., IV.

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Vacaria- De Schachis.	V. 1623.	VI. 1668.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calco- grafia.	XI. Present Locality.
1	Phaethon	Garimberti		a 8	—	—	84	84	Alabaster relief. Forgery? M.-D. 3160: cf. Robert, <i>Sark. Rel.</i> ii. p. 203. No. 191.
2	Hercules	"		a 2	—	—	—	—	Naples 260 (6002): R. i. 483. 2; 484. 2.
3	Bull 1	Farnese		a 3	—	—	79	79	Relief. Forgery?
4	Vintage	Garimberti		a 4	—	—	48	48	Conservatori, Sinais 21: Helbig i. 3 896. (r) ²
5	O. Curtius	Capitol	5	a 6	—	—	—	—	? Vienna 3; R. ii. 74. 10. (r) ³
6	Priapus	Garimberti		a 7	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 321. 8. 4
7	'Terra vel Natura' (Ephesian Diana)	"			—	—	—	—	R. ii. 322. 1. (Forgery.)
8	"	"			(8)	—	—	—	Florence, Uffizi 241: D. iii. 264. Am. 174. (r)
9	Niohe and daughter	"	44	a 10	—	—	116	116	" 247: D. iii. 253. Am. 183. (r)
10	'Vir Niohes', (wrestlers)	"		a 11	—	—	—	—	" (Tribuna): D. iii. 547. Am. 66. (r)
11	'Fili Niohes', (wrestlers)	"		a 12	—	—	—	—	" 253: D. iii. 269. Am. 179.
12	"	"		a 13	—	—	—	—	" 256: D. iii. 266. Am. 170. (r)
13	"	"	43	a 13	—	—	—	—	" 255 (or 252): D. iii. 267. 253. Am.
14	"	"			—	—	—	—	177. 180.
15	'Una ex filiabus Niohes'	"		a 16	—	—	—	—	Florence, Uffizi 244: D. iii. 261. Am. 185. (r)
16	"	"		a 17	—	—	—	—	" 251: D. iii. 254. Am. 169. (r)
17	"	"		a 18	—	—	115	115	D. iii. p. 137 (Muse now called Polytimnia) (r)
18	"	"		a 19	—	—	114	114	Florence, Uffizi 257: D. iii. 265. Am. 175. (r)
19	"	"		a 20	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 310. 5. Forgery? Same type as Vatican.
20	'Diana trivis', Diana	Garimberti	34	a 20	—	—	—	—	R. ii. 319. 2. Forgery? Same type as Vatican.
21	"	Farnese			—	—	—	—	Chiaromonte 341, but without veil at back.
22	'Jupiter rex', 'Jupiter acquus', Leda	"		a 29	—	—	—	—	Later to Villa Borghese: ? R. ii. 12. 7.
23	"	Garimberti		a 23	—	—	—	—	Borghese, then Aldobrandini: M.-D. 17.
24	"	Ceulli (Ceuli)		a 24	—	—	—	—	Later to Villa Borghese: ? R. ii. 416. 6.
25	"	"		a 25	—	—	[117]	X 10	

1 Three elegiac couplets *Ingentem Dircem* . . . *sita est* below.

2 Plates marked (r) are reversed (*supra*, p. 122), and it is possible that some of those which I have not been able to identify are reversed also, as Reinach generally assumes in reproducing them. Hubner (p. 42) is however wrong in supposing that *all* are reversed—Nos. 3, 36, 76, 38 are examples to the contrary.

3 Jahn (*Bonner Jahrb.* xxvii., p. 60, n. 43; cf. Pl. III. 4) mentions it as a possible identification: but there are differences in detail. Cf. also his article on *Cod. Pigh.* in *Sachs. Ber.* 1868, p. 173, No. 5 (t. 24').

4 Dussaud (*Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, 67 599.) points out that it is really a Jupiter Heliopolitanus, wrongly restored.

5 Legend in *hortis* (or in *palatio*) *Magui Ducis Etruriae* (Villa Medici).

6 Exactly like R. i. 274. 2 (Pawlowski) or 166. 3 (Louvre: Froehner 391), but reversed.

7 This plate occurs in Van Aelst and 1619, but not in 1645: it is a reversed copy.

8 This and other plates thus marked (30, 66, 67, 68, 70, 81) were no doubt among those destroyed in 1823 by order of Leo XII. (Ehrle, *Pianta del Du l'érac*, p. 24).

26	Ganymede	Farnese		a 26	—	—	—	—	R. ii. 475. 2. Not Naples 278 (6355), R. i. 191. 5 (head and lower part of legs differently restored). ¹ (r)
27	Neptune and Triton	Valle		a 27	—	23	23	—	Cf. Michaels, <i>Jahrb. d. Inst.</i> vi. (1891), p. 279, No. 22: R. ii. 30. 2.
28	Pluto and Cerberus	"		a 28	—	22	22	—	? R. ii. 20. 2. Cf. Dosio, Berl. f. 27. No. 72 and Marucell. 161 ^r . (Hülsem, <i>Ausonia</i> , vii. (1912), p. 38, 88).
29	Mercury	Farnese		a 5	—	28	28	—	? 1 type of R. i. 369. 1. (but nude, and arms reversed—left outstretched).
30	Mercury and Chloris	"		a 30	—	29	X	—	British Museum 1602.
31	'Mercurius Seditiorum'	Gariberti		a 32	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 151. 4.
32	Mars	Capitol		a 33	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 179. 6. It does not seem to be either Capitol, Roof 4 or Conservatori, Roof 4.
33	Antinous	<i>Victoriarum</i> (Vettori)		a 35	—	—	—	—	Louvre. R. i. 134. 4. (r)
34	'Apollo, opus Timanthis'	Farnese	26	a 36	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 93. 4.
35	Apollo	Vettori		a 37	—	—	—	—	Petworth, No. 5 (reversed).
36	Bellona	Capitol		a 38	—	—	—	—	Capitol. Attio 4: R. ii. 290. 2. (r)
37	Pallas 3	Cesi		a 39	—	—	—	—	H. 72. Dresden, Hettner 72: R. i. 232. 4. ⁴
38	Infant Hercules	Albertoni		a 40	—	—	—	—	ii. 293. 3 (reversed)
39	'Hercules Auentinus indico ex lapide'	Gariberti		a 41	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 230. 9.
40	'Hercules Acheloi domitor'	Capitol		a 42	—	—	—	—	Turin: D. iv. 85, R. i. 461. 5. (r)
41	'Hercules Acheloi domitor'	Farnese		a 43	—	—	—	—	Capitol, Salone 3.
42	Amazon (crouching)	Albertoni		a 44	—	—	—	—	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3560. Cf. Vacc. 67 (Valle).
43	(on horseback)	Pietro Santacroce		a 45	—	—	—	—	Probably Dresden, Hettner 153: R. i. 463. 5; cf. Dosio, Berl. 70 ^r , No. 162 (Hülsem, <i>cit.</i> p. 96). (r)
44	'Humanae uitae uices aetatesue (Bacchus with infant Mercury)	Farnese		a 46	—	—	—	—	? R. ii. 325. 4. <i>Jahrb. d. Inst.</i> viii. (1893) p. 126, Fig. 5.
45	'Psyche'	"		a 47	—	—	—	—	Palazzo Patrizi (M.-D. 948): R. ii. 326. 1. (r)
46	'Securitas'	"		a 48	—	—	—	—	R. ii. 173. 7.
47	'Pietas'	Gariberti		a 49	—	—	—	—	Capitol, Galleria 20 (the legend is incorrect). (r)
48	'Arithmetica uel Erato Musa'	"		a 50	—	—	—	—	?
49	'Sibylla et libri Sibyllini'	Grand Duke of Tuscany		a 50	—	—	—	—	?
50				a 50	—	—	—	—	Like R. i. 261. 1. ⁶ (r)

¹ As Prof. Hüllen pointed out to me, the inscription has been altered from *Vallemisibus*. It must therefore be Florence, Uffizi 88, as Reinach suggests: cf. Vacc. 45. 727.
² The identification he suggests in his notes to Aldrovandi, p. 298 (*Les Dessins de Pierre Jacques*, p. 85, N. 4) with the Pluto and Cerberus in the garden of Cardinal Pio de Carpi is by no means probable. The engraving of Cav. is certainly reversed, as Reinach points out.

³ Plate in style of first edition: *In aedibus Caesaris* inserted over an erasure.

⁴ 75 in his text is a false reference.

⁵ This plate occurs in Hauser's copy of Van Aelst (No. 82) bearing its original number (43), but cannot be traced elsewhere (*supra*, p. 129, n. 2).

⁶ The locality is given by Clarac as Museo Chiaramonti, but I cannot identify the statue there.

TABLE a (2). CAVALIERI, BOOKS III., IV.—(continued).

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Vaccaria- De Schaichis.	V. 1693.	VI. 1668.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calco- grafia.	XI. Present Locality.
51	'Aegeria Aricina'	Farnese		b 40	—				Naples 1938 (6493): R. i. 258. 6.
52	'Lachesis, Atropos'	Garimberti		a 52	—				Two figures from Florence, Uffizi 336: D. iii. 550, Am. 163; Hauser, <i>Nu-att. Rel.</i> p. 13, No. 9. (r)
53	Cymothoe	Grand Duke of Tuscany		a 53	—				Florence, Uffizi 162: D. iii. 248, Am. 108. (r)
54	Pomona	Garimberti		a 54	—				Later to Villa Borghese. Like R. i. 217. 1. (Berlin 203, Cavaceppi ii. 45) and <i>ib.</i> 6. (Florence, Uffizi 74; D. iii. 121, Am. 56).
55	'Corinthus'	"		a 55	—				Like R. i. 514. 2. (Coll. Giustiniani) (r)
56	Philosopher	"		a 56	—				Palazzo Altieri: M.D. 1320.
57	M. Mettius Epaphroditus	Albertoni		a 57	—				Forgery? R. ii. 41. 3.
58	Tigris	Bernardo Porta		a 59	—		63	63	R. ii. 557. 2.1
59	Fisherman	'Petrus sculptor'		a 60	—		62	62	Cf. Vacc. 14 (<i>in Capitolo</i>): R. ii. 557. 7. (r)
60	Boy fishing	(found at the Vatican)		a 61	—				Michaels, <i>Arch. Zeit.</i> 1879, 172; R. ii. 448. 2.
61	'Cupido Puber'	Giambattista Luraghi	63	a 62	—		71	71	R. ii. 454. 3.
62	Hymenaeus	Garimberti		a 63	—				Naples 500 (6375): R. i. 355. 4. (r)
63	Alpheus	Farnese		a 64	—				Gall. Giustiniani 27. Probably Torlonia 171
64	'Cupido in tyrocinio'	Garimberti			—				(trunk with quiver restored: R. i. 352. 1.) (r)
65	'Castor et Pollux Pro meretriculae Voto successio Amatorum'	Fabio Bauerio			—				Gall. Giustiniani 25: R. i. 352. 2 R. (present locality?) (r)
66	Venus Callipige	Farnese		a 66 ²			96	X	Naples 314 (6020): R. i. 328. 1-2. (r)
67	Venus	"		a 67			91	X	Perhaps R. i. 311. 3: Naples 307 (6286), reversed. ³
68	'Venus Corollaria'	"		a 68			92	X	Naples 306 (6293): R. i. 346. 2 (r)
69	'Venus in contubernio Martis'	Cecoli		a 69					Later to Villa Borghese. R. i. 339. 6 (Vatican). ⁴
70	Venus	Dosio		a 70		[r 34]	93	X	Cf. Hilsen, <i>Ausonia</i> vii. 64, note 1; R. ii. 349. 6.
71	Laurea	Garimberti		a 71		—	106	106	? R. ii. 396. 7.

1. The suggestion in the text 'perhaps R. i. 540. 3. differently restored' is unfortunate, as that statue turns out to be a bronze from Pompeii (Friedrichs-Wolters 1548). I have not been able to ascertain who 'Petrus sculptor' (cf. No. 41) was: but he was obviously one of the many sculptors to whom statues were entrusted for restoration.

2. The plate is missing in the Biblioteca Angelica copy, but occurs in the Berlin copy.

3. Not K. i. 334 (Naples 231 (6288)) as Reinach suggests, for this was found at Pompeii.

4. It is no doubt in one of the storerooms with other statues of a similar character. The engraving is reversed.

72	Bacchissa	Garimberti	1	(γ 2)	46	46
73	'Virgo sponsa et nuptiarum aperens'	"	—	—	—	—
74	Bacchus and Silenus	Muzio Mattei (Quirinal)	—	—	37	37
75	Silenus and infant Bacchus	Muti	—	—	—	—
76	Bacchus and Silenus	Farnese	1	[γ 6]	[38]	[38]
77	Bacchus	"	—	—	—	—
78	Satyr with basket of fruit, coloured	Garimberti	—	—	—	—
79	Silenus	"	—	—	—	—
80	'Autumnus plenior in pneae excursionem'	Grand Duke of Tuscany	—	—	—	—
81	Satyr and Daphnis	Farnese	—	—	39 ²	X
82	Silenus	Grand Duke of Tuscany	—	—	47 ²	47
83	Bacchus	Dosio	—	—	—	—
84	"	Capitol	—	—	—	—
85	'Genius salutis uel Natalis'	Mignanelli	—	—	—	—
86	Bacchus	Garimberti	—	—	—	—
87	Bacchus	Farnese	—	—	—	—
88	Faun (dancing)	Ceuti	—	—	—	—
89	Julius Caesar	Mignanelli	—	—	—	—
90	M. Manlius (Arrotino)	Grand Duke of Tuscany	—	—	—	—
91	Cincinnatus	Card. Montalto	—	—	11	11
92	Emperor	Grand Duke of Tuscany	—	—	19	19
93	Caesar Augustus	Lodovico Mattei	—	—	15	15
94	Aurelius Caesar	"	—	—	14	14
95	'Libertorum manumissio'	Albertoni	—	—	80	80
96	'Coniugum sepulcrum'	Savelli	—	—	—	—
97	Fountain figure (man with wineskin)	Cesi	—	—	—	—
98	Unknown (nude male)	Farnese	—	—	—	—
99	" emperor	Odescalchi	—	—	—	—
100	" (bust)	Garimberti	—	—	—	—

1 Occurs in earlier edition, but not in 1668.

2 *in hortis Ludovisijs* substituted (in 1645?)

TABLE B. VACCARIA-DE SCHAICHIS.

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Copied from	V. Subject identical with	VI. Present locality
1	Title page	Capitol	Q. 182	De Cav. i. ii. 75	Conservatori, 2nd Story Corridor 34: Helbig I. ³ 1005.
2	Bronze Hercules			"	Capitol Piazza: Helbig I. ³ p. 409 (reversed).
3	Trophies of Marius ¹			"	Conservatori, Scala 21.
4				"	Capitol, Piazza.
5	Q. Curtius	Capitol (Piazza) ²	Q. 222, 223.	68	Conservatori, Scala I. 4 (cf. <i>Capitoline Catalogue</i> , p. 365, No. 12).
6	M. Aurelius	Capitol			Conservatori, Scala I. 19 (cf. <i>Capitoline Catalogue</i> , p. 367, Nos. 37, 47 (where 34 is a misprint for 43) and Addenda).
7	Urania				Conservatori, Cortile 1.
8	Muse of Comedy	"			Capitol, Cortile 2.
9	Julius Caesar	"	De Cav. i. ii. 72		Capitol, Atrio 41.
10	Augustus	"	" 71		Conservatori, Roof 3.
11	Jupiter	"	" 76		Bronze Room (E) 1.
12	Genius ³	"			Lost: R. ii. 557. 7.
13	Camillus	"	Q. 207.	De Cav. i. ii. 74	Conservatori, Scala II. 1.
14	Boy fishing	"	Q. 205	" iii. iv. 60	Naples (Mus. Borb. i. 8): R. i. 462, 1, 3.
15	Wolf	"	Q. 216		Quirinal.
16	Infant Hercules	Quirinal }	De Cav. i. ii. 90, 89	Q. 201; 7, 19, 20	Naples 304 (6407): R. i. 510, 5 (reversed).
17	Horse-tamers ('opus Praxitelis')	Farnese }			" 305 (6405): R. i. 482, 5 (reversed).
18	" ('opus Phidias')				" 260 (6002).
19	Horseman fighting Amazon	"	Q. 191 (reversed)	De Cav. iii. iv. 3, 7, 32	British Museum, 1602 (reversed).
20	Amazon falling from horse	"		" iii. iv. 30	Naples 76 (6122).
21	Bull	"			" 77 (6116).
22	Mercury and Nymph	"			" 675 (6262).
23	Parthian King	"	De Cav. i. ii. 30	" R. ii. 93, 4	"
24	Armenian King	"	" i. ii. 31	" iii. iv. 68	Naples 42 (5978) (fig. 8).
25	Hermaphrodite	"	Q. 184 (reversed)	" i. ii. 37	" 309 (6203).
26	'Apollo, opus Timantheidis'	"	= De Cav. iii. iv. 34	" i. ii. 27	" 286 (6004).
27	Flora	" ⁴	De Cav. i. 12 5	" i. ii. 28	" 483 (6319).
28	Venus	" ⁴		" i. ii. 29	" 1015 (6000).
29	Hercules ⁶	"		"	" 243 (5990).
30	Minerva	"		"	" 42 (5978).
31	Gladiator	"	De Cav. i. ii. 38	"	" R. ii. 139.
32	Commodus	"	Q. 228-30	"	British Museum 1886 (without the altar) (bought in 1864): R. ii. 520, 6.
33	Flora ⁷	"	De Cav. i. ii. 33	"	Conservatori, Cortile 2, 21.
34	Diana	" ⁸	" iii. iv. 21	"	H. 141: Ludovisi 4: Xene 190 (8571).
35	Horseman (on round altar)	"	"	"	Naples 235 (6349) (reversed).
36	Rome	Cesi	"	735 (copy)	
37	Satyr and Daphnis	Farnese	" i. ii. 19	De Cav. iii. iv. 81	
38	"	"	" i. ii. 22		

¹ The order is wrong, the last part of the legend being on No. 3, and the first on No. 4.

² On the pedestal is the inscription of Paul III. (Forcella i. p. 33, No. 1).

³ Added in second edition (Hübner, p. 45).

⁴ Added in second edition.

⁵ Not 11, as Hübner says.

⁶ 'Uno Cavallo di marmoro con un druso sopra.' I think there is little doubt that this, and not No. 19, is the Drusus: for Nos. 19, 20 are obviously indicated as 'duo cavalli sopra l'uno una donna et sopra l'altro un huomo.' As to the date of the acquisition of these and other Farnese statues by the British Museum, it is 1864, as the catalogue state (and I have official confirmation of the fact) so that *Arch. Zeitung* 1864, 287 is wrong (Hübner, p. 97).

⁷ Signed Hor. Aquil. fac. (*supra* p. 125).

⁸ Signature as 12.

The same statue as 27.

39	Parthian	Cesi	De Cav. i. ii. 21	γ 7 (copy)	Conservatori, Cortile 17.
40	"	"	" i. ii. 20	γ 1	" "
41	Apollo (Daphnis) ¹	Card. Medici	"		Florence, Uffizi 205 (D. iii. 232, Am. 104).
42	Apollo	"	"		Poggio Imperiale: D. ii. 90 (so Michaelis, <i>Jahrb.</i> 24).
43	Effius Niobes'	Grand Duke of Tuscany	iii. iv. 14		<i>cf. Inst.</i> vi. (1891), p. 230, No. 52).
44	Niobes cum filiis'	"	iii. iv. 9		Florence, Uffizi 235 (or 252).
45	Gaunymede	Card. Medici	"	γ 21 (copy)	" " 241
46	Cupid	"	"		" " 88 (D. iii. 115, Am. 51. Michaelis, <i>loc. cit.</i> No. 161).
47	Sleeping nymph (Cleopatra, Ariadne)	Grand Duke of Tuscany ²	i. ii. 6	γ 14	Probably Naples 275 (6353).
48	Laocon	Vatican	Engraving by P. Perret, 1581: <i>cf.</i> Q. 196 (reversed)	De Cav. i. ii. 1: γ 31 (copy)	Vatican, Gall. Stat. 414.
49	Tiber 3	"	"		" Belvedere 74
50	Nile	"	"		"
51	Ocean	Cesarini	Q. 215	Q. 214. De Cav. i. ii. 2	Louvre Cat. Somm. 593
52	Bronze Silenus	"	Q. 212	De Cav. i. ii. 3	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 109.
53	"Millo allis Antinous"	"	"	i. ii. 93	Naples 40 (5977).
54	Apollo Belvedere	Vatican	"	i. ii. 5	? Recumbent (lid of vase) (Thomassini 4).
55	Commodus with Victory	"	"	Q. 169. De Cav. i. ii. 4.	Vatican, Belvedere 53.
56	Mercury	"	Q. 225, 226		" " 32 (hands restored).
57	Bacchus	Alessandro de Grandi	"		" Chiaramonti 636.
58	Venus, Eros, Antero;	Cesarini ⁴	Q. 171-173 (C. Cort.)	De Cav. iii. iv. 76: γ 6 (copy)	Probably R. i. 365. 4 (Cavaceppi i. 43); in England?
59	Adonis	Card. Ferrara	De Cav. i. ii. 51	H. 12. Vatican, Chiaramonti 353: R. ii. 377. 5.	Naples 253 (6022).
60	Bellona	Bishop of Aquino	" 60		H. 12. Vatican, Chiaramonti 353: R. ii. 377. 5.
61	Stepherd	Card. Ferrara	" 62		Vatican, Melegro 10.
62	Ceres	Villa Papa Giulio III.	" 67		H. 52. Vatican, Chiaramonti 493.
63	"Cupido pulcr"	Luraghi	"		Ny Carlsberg 158.
64	"Cupido cogitabundus"	(Dosio)	= De Cav. iii. iv. 61	γ 22 (copy)	? R. ii. 448. 2.
65	Venus and Cupid ⁵	"	"	De Cav. iii. iv. 70: γ 34 (copy)	? R. ii. 349. 6 (who shows Venus on left).
66	Priapus	Alessandro de Grandi	"		? R. ii. 73. 5, 6. <i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> xxvii. p. 57 and pl. iii. 1.
67	Hercules and Lion	Valle	"	De Cav. iii. iv. 41: γ 3 (copy)	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3560, Michaelis, <i>Jahrb. cit.</i>
68	"Regit." 1579	(modern)	"		p. 229, No. 31: <i>cf.</i> De Cav. iii. iv. 41 'in aedibus
69	Marsyas ⁷	Valle	"		. Petri sculptoris.
70	Satyr	"	"	i. ii. 85	Renaissance painting (an archer)
71	Bacchante	"	"		Florence, Uffizi 155: (Michaelis, <i>Jahrb. cit.</i>
72	Bacchus	"	"		p. 228, No. 17).
73	"Commodus" (Diomedes)	"	"		Capitol, Cortile 23.
74	Trajan	"	"		Louvre, Frohner 291: (Michaelis, <i>Jahrb. cit.</i>
75	Faun	"	"		p. 217, No. 78).
76	Pyrrhus	Capodiferno	Q. 207		? <i>cf.</i> Michaelis, <i>Jahrb. cit.</i> p. 235, No. 157.
77	Horatius	Borghese ²	Q. 208 (reversed)	iii. iv. 89	Later in Verospi and Albani collections; now
78	Faun	"	"	iii. iv. 88: γ 8	Munich, Glyptothek 304: R. i. 531. 4.
79	Marforio	"	Q. 221	"	Palazzo Spada.
80	Pasquino	Massimi (Villa Medici)	"	i. ii. 96	Villa Borghese: Helbig, ii. 3 1531. Legend added later: <i>cf.</i> De Cav. aedibus Tib. Ceuoli.
		"	Q. 217 (reversed)	γ 9 (copy)	Capitol, Attio 40 (fig. 8).
		"	"	De Cav. i. ii. 94	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3518. <i>cf.</i> P.B.S.R. iv. 233.
		"	"	i. ii. 92.	Capitol, Cortile 1.
		"	"	Q. 219	Palazzo Braschi; M.-D. 965 (reversed).

1 Signed *Cherubinus Al Bertus* (i.e. 1577) (reversed).
2 Added in second edition.
3 As 41 (*Albertus*).
4 The legend was never corrected, even in the later editions.
5 *Veneris et Cupidinis statua marmorea Romae in aedibus cuiusdam mercatoris Florentini in banchis. Vit. f.* Cavalleri shows the Venus on the spectator's right, Vaccaria on the left, and γ 34 (though it is a copy of Vacc. not of Cav.) on the right again.
6 Jahn's text gives no ground for Reinach's conjecture that the statue is still at Vienna: he expressly says that it was only known to him from Vaccaria.
7 Signed *Cherub. Albertus* f. 1578.

TABLE 7. PLATES FOUND IN VAN AELST (III. B. I.) AND SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS WHICH DO NOT FORM PART OF CAVALIERI (EXCEPT NOS. 16, 29, 30) NOR VACCARIA.

I	II. ante 1694	III. Calco- grafia.	IV. Subject.	V. Collection.	VI. Copied from	VII. Subject identical with	VIII. Present Locality.
1	26	26	'Apollo'	Villa Medici	Vacc 67 ²	Vacc. 42	Poggio Imperiale (D. ii. 90). (Fig. 9).
2	31	31	Hercules and the Lion	Card. Ferrara ¹ (Este)		De Cav. iii. iv. 41	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3560 (Fig. 10). H. 26.
3	34	34	Hercules	Garden of Card. da Carpi ³			
4	35	35	Hercules	Valle			
5	36	36	Bacchus	Cesarini ⁵	Vacc. 57	De Cav. iii. iv. 76	Florence: R. i. 383.6 (reversed). ⁴ Naples 253 (6022).
6	38	38	Silenus with infant Bacchus	Villa Medici	Vacc. 41 (reversed)		Florence, Uffizi 205. ⁶
7	40	40	Apollo (Daphnis)	Borghese		{Vacc. 75 {De Cav. iii. iv. 88	Villa Borghese: Helbig ii. 2, 1531. ?
8	41	41	Faun	?	Vacc. 78		?
9	42	42	Faun	Massimi ⁷		{De Cav. i. ii. 2 {Vacc. 49	Louvre, Cat. Somm. 593.
10	49	49	Aesculapius	Vatican		{De Cav. i. ii. 3 {Vacc. 30	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 109.
11	53	53	Tiber	"			" Croce Greca 600.
12	54	54	Nile	"		{De Cav. i. ii. 6 {Vacc. 47	" Gall. Stat. 414.
13	57	57	'Tigris'	"			H. 27. (Palazzo Barberini in 1738.)
14	58	58	'Cleopatra'	"			H. 80. Museo Torlonia 216.
15	59	59	Nymph	Garden of Card. da Carpi ⁸			H. 31. ?
16	60	60 ⁹	Thalia	"			Quirinal.
17	61	61	Anchytroe ¹⁰	"	{= Vacc. Ornamenti. {Pl. 12, 11	{De Cav. i. ii. 90, 89 {Vacc. 17, 18	"
18	64	64	Horse Tamers	Quirinal	Q. 201 ¹²		"
19	65	65	" ('opus Praxitelis')	"	Vacc. 45		"
20	66	66	" ('opus Phidiae')	"	Vacc. 64		"
21	70	70	Ganymede	Villa Medici			Florence, Uffizi 88
22	72	72	'Cupido cogitabundus'	"			?
23	125	93	(draped female)	Borghese	{Large engraving by {Van Aelst (1600)		(Fig. 11).
24	83	83	Marforio (in niche) ¹³	Capitol		De Cav. i. ii. 94	Capitol, Cortile I (Fig. 16).

1 This may be the statue mentioned in the inventory of 1568 (*Doc. Ined.* ii. p. 159: H. 62) as in the 'statuatio in mano di Maestro Matruino'—'Un Hercole in piedi nudo con finiti nella man manca et nella destra tiene un pezzo di bastone è manco del naturale' (Fig. 9). It passed later on to the Medici collection. This plate and No. 26 occur in a fragmentary copy of Cav. i (*supra* i. 1, a-c) in my collection, and though not belonging to it, are very likely contemporary with it, as are also Nos. 25, 27.

2 We first find this figure in the Valle collection, and then in a sculptor's shop—one Pietro, to whom it had doubtless been entrusted for repair; for though Vaccaria shows the group (a relief) restored, the legs were in part missing (Michaelis, *Antich. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 229, No. 31). Matz-Duhn wrongly say that this engraving is reversed.

3 Youthful Hercules with apples of the Hesperides (Aldrovandi, 209). The plate must be anterior to the Cardinal's death in 1564.

4 See also Michaelis, *Antich. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 229, No. 32; Pierre Jacques, *l. 70 bis*.

5 Really in the Farnese collection by this time (cf. De Cav. i. ii. 90, 89).

6 The original legend was *Acrotatus sistens*. This and Nos. 29, 30 belong to Cav. i. (*supra*, p. 11: n.). The original name was *Thalys*: in 1645 (?) it was altered to *Nymph*. (Fig. 13).

7 The statue was published in 1603, under the title of *Ornamenti di Fabbriche antiche* (*supra*, p. 127). The plate is first found in the 1619 edition.

8 Sleeping Nereid (Aldrovandi, 299). This with arms bare (Aldrovandi, 300).

9 This collection was published in 1603, under the title of *Ornamenti di Fabbriche antiche* (*supra*, p. 127). The plate is first found in the 1619 edition.

10 See Michaelis, *Antich. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 206, n. 70; 204, n. 81.

11 The representation is entirely different from that in De Cav. i. ii. 94, which shows the statue in its old position, in front of S. Martina. This plate was used, from 1645 onwards, as the title page to Bo K II. A similar but different plate will be found in the *Ornamenti di Fabbriche Antiche* (Pl. 20).

25	100	Ceres 1	Card. Ferrara	?	?	(Fig. 1
26	102	" (another) ²	"	Borghese	H. 93.	Palazzo Borghese: M.D. 1486.
27	104	VILIA HAGNE ³	Borghese	"	H. 92.	"
28	118	(draped female)	Garden of Card. da Carpi	"	"	"
29	129	headless) ⁴	"	Vatican	"	"
30	136	"	"	"	"	"
31	138	Laocoon	Farnese	"	"	"
32		Bull ⁷	Borghese	"	"	"
33	8	Leda	(Dosto) ⁹	"	"	"
34	117	Venus and Cupid	Cesi	"	"	"
35	8	Satyr and Daphnis	"	"	"	"
36	10	Pallas ¹¹	"	"	"	"

1 No. 25. *Cereve statua marmorea in horti Car. Ferraria.*

It is not the same statue as Cav. i. ii. 43, nor does either this or No. 26 correspond absolutely with the description we have of the statue of Ceres at the Villa d'Este (*Archaeologia*, cit. p. 240, No. 44) which ought to have a diadem and a single garment, attached above by a scarf, and covering her from the right shoulder to below the left breast: in the raised left hand she holds a torch, while the right was outstretched. (No. 23 holds a cornucopiae in the left hand, and a flower in the outstretched right: she is fully draped with an upper garment from the left shoulder to below the right breast. Her hair is drawn together by a slender circle. No. 26 holds a torch in the right hand, and an uncertain object in the left: she wears a high-girt chiton with diplos, and her hair is gathered together by a circle, and curls fall on her shoulders. No. 26 does the description tally absolutely with H. 65 (a statue of a 'Province' with a cornucopiae in the left hand, and a patera in the right: and it is no doubt the draped Fortune (*Copla vestita*) H. 30.

Inasmuch as five statues were transferred from the Belvedere to the collection of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1568 (Husen, p. 95) we may identify, if we wish, these two statues of Ceres with two of the three bought by Pius IV. in 1561-5 (*Capitoline Catalogue*, p. 374).

2 No. 26. *Cereve marmorea in horti Car. Ferraria.* See on No. 25.

3 No. 27. Female statue, draped (with veil over head, right elbow bent and covered by drapery: left hand holding poppy projects from drapery), standing on base bearing the inscription—

VILIA HAGNE LIBERTA

VXOR C. PATRQMI

C.I.L. vi. 28933—from Miliusius, *Cod. Ferrar.* i. 144: this engraving is cited in the addenda. The locality is not given; and the inscription may have been taken from the engraving. I am strongly inclined to suspect some connexion between it and *C.I.L.* vi. 3130 * *MATER VILIA FAGNAE* which Bousard places under a female statue with cornucopiae (*Topographia* vi. Pl. 56) which he saw in the Villa Papa Giulio.

4 No. 29. *Statua incognita ibidem.*

In the first edition, as already noticed, it comes after 16, and should therefore belong to the Carpi collection; and I think it may be identified with H. 93 (a female statue with upper and under garment, without head and arms).

5 No. 30. *Statua alta incognita e marmore ibidem.*

This may similarly be identified with H. 92 (a female statue, without head and arms, leaning against a tree trunk—which is hidden by her body in the engraving—with her legs crossed) which stood close to No. 29 in the *Pergolato* of the Giardino Carpi.

6 A close copy, but a different plate: it does not appear after 1619.

7 No. 32. This is a copy from the same original as that of Vaccaria 21—a large engraving, with the signature C.R.F. (for which see Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii, No. 630) after a drawing by Eugenio Bianchi of Piacenza, dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Giulio Roberti, of Borgo San Sepolcro, in 1579, with the additional imprint *Laurentium Vaccarium Formis Romae 1580* (Lafrey, Q. 191). The Plate does not appear after 1619.

8 The destruction of these three plates is no doubt due to their subject: cf. p. 144. Nos. 34, 35 cannot be traced after 1619.

9 It bears the legend *Veneris et Cupidinis statua marmorea in aedibus mercatoris Florentini in banchis*: cf. Vacc. 65. 0 This plate cannot be traced after 1619.

EXEMPLAR

ÆNEI PALLADI

QVOD APVD LEMANVM

LACVM IN CONSTREDO

CIRCA VERZOIV AGGERE

SER ALLOBROGVN DV

CIS AVGVRIO FOELICI

DEFOSSVM EXTITIT

Cf. *supra*, p. 138. I cannot trace the statue.

TABLE 8. LIST OF PLATES AT THE CALCOGRAFIA.

NOTE—i. ; i. ii. ; ii. iv. refer to the various parts of Cavalieri.

I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
1	Title (III. B. 5. <i>supra</i> , p. 144)	45	i. ii. 86	89	iii. iv. 36
2	i. ii. 84	46	iii. iv. 72	90	i. 23
3	i. i	47	iii. iv. 82	91	i. 26
4	i. 2	48	iii. iv. 4	92	i. 25
5	i. 3	49	γ 10	93	γ 23
6	i. 14	50	i. 20	94	i. ii. 65
7	i. 15	51	i. 21	95	i. ii. 52
8	i. 46	52	i. ii. 93	96	i. 17
9	i. ii. 99	53	γ 11	97	i. ii. 51
10	i. ii. 100	54	γ 12	98	i. 6
11	iii. iv. 91	55	i. 44	99	i. ii. 44
12	i. ii. 72	56	i. 43	100	γ 25
13	i. ii. 71	57	γ 13	101	i. ii. 67
14	iii. iv. 94	58	γ 14	102	γ 26
15	iii. iv. 93	59	γ 15	103	i. ii. 77
16	i. 42	60	γ 16	104	γ 27
17	i. 45	61	γ 17	105	i. 4
18	i. 36	62	iii. iv. 60	106	iii. iv. 71
19	iii. iv. 92	63	iii. iv. 59	107	i. 19
20	i. 7	64	γ 18	108	i. 11
21	i. ii. 63	65	γ 19	109	i. ii. 33
22	iii. iv. 28	66	γ 20	110	i. ii. 82
23	iii. iv. 27	67	i. ii. 73	111	i. ii. 80
24	i. ii. 4	68	i. ii. 98	112	i. ii. 81
25	i. ii. 37	69	i. ii. 95	113	i. ii. 83
26	γ 1	70	γ 21	114	iii. iv. 18
27	i. ii. 85	71	iii. iv. 62	115	iii. iv. 17
28	iii. iv. 29	72	γ 22	116	iii. iv. 10
29	i. 5	73	i. ii. 74	117	i. ii. 24
30	i. 9	74	i. ii. 97	118	γ 28
31	γ 2	75	i. ii. 28	119	i. 24
32	i. ii. 71	76	i. ii. 92	120	i. 12
33	i. ii. 75	77	i. 8	121	i. ii. 17
34	γ 3	78	i. ii. 1	122	i. ii. 7
35	γ 4	79	iii. iv. 3	123	iii. iv. 44
36	γ 5	80	iii. iv. 95	124	i. ii. 11
37	iii. iv. 74	81	i. ii. 79	125	i. ii. 14
38	γ 6	82	i. ii. 5	126	i. 13
39	i. 22	83	γ 24 (Title of Book II. <i>supra</i> , p. 140)	127	i. ii. 64
40	γ 7	84	iii. iv. 1	128	i. ii. 18
41	γ 8	85	i. ii. 12	129	γ 29
42	γ 9	86	i. 28	130	i. ii. 91
43	i. ii. 87	87	i. 33	131	γ 30
44	i. ii. 62	88	i. 18	132	i. 16
				133	i. ii. 66

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